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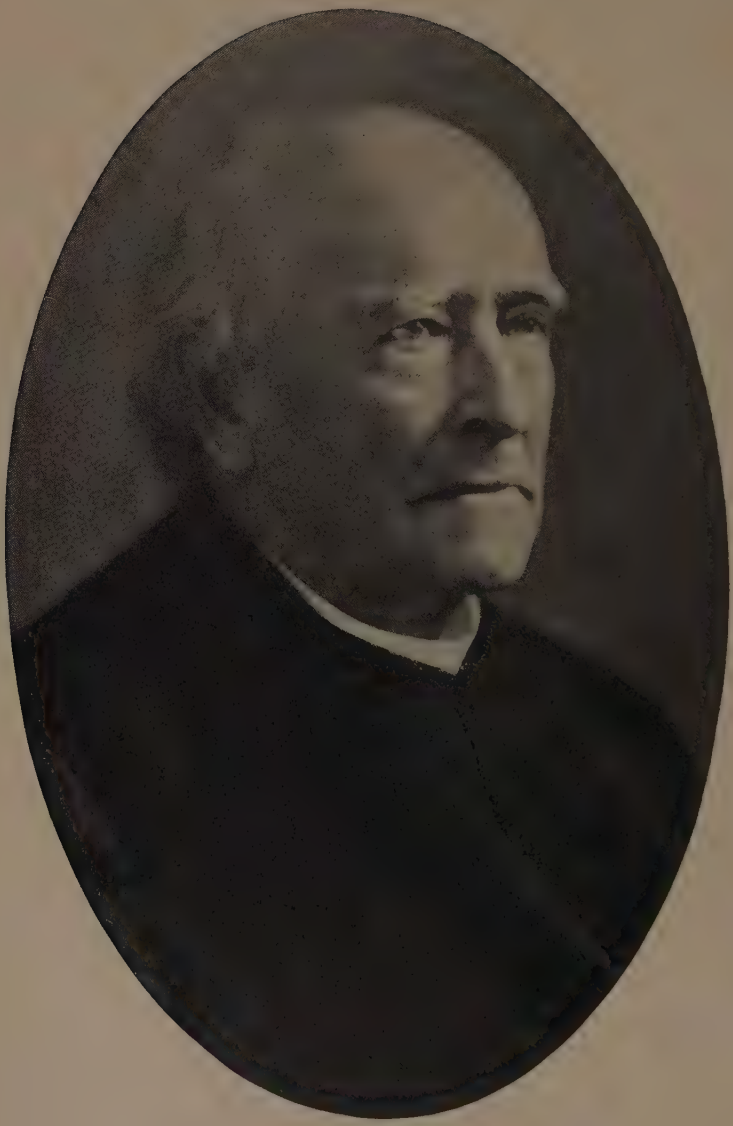

BERNARD J. McQUAID, D. D.
First Bishop of Rochester, 1868-1909
(Photo by Furlong 1905)

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF BISHOP McQUAID

PREFACED

WITH

The History of Catholic Rochester Before His Episcopate

BY

FREDERICK J. ZWIERLEIN, D. Sc. M. H. (Louvain)
Author of "Religion in New Netherland"

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FOREWORD

When Bishop McQuaid was approached by a publisher with plans for a History of Catholic Rochester, he declared that one of his priests was being trained for that kind of work at the University of Louvain in Europe, to whom, therefore, this task was reserved. Work upon a doctoral dissertation, *Religion in New Netherland,* delayed the undertaking of the task, after this priest's return home in 1907, for three years. Meanwhile, Bishop McQuaid had died. The problem then was how to unite the History of Catholic Rochester and the Biography of Bishop McQuaid. The solution was not difficult inasmuch as the earlier history of Catholic Rochester formed the background for the long episcopate of its first Bishop, with which the subsequent Catholic history of the place was largely identical. Parallel to the earlier history of Catholic Rochester ran Bishop McQuaid's life before his episcopate, especially as Father McQuaid in New Jersey, where his career trained him well for much of the work awaiting him in his episcopal field of labor. The first volume of *Bishop McQuaid's Life and Letters,* therefore, contains the History of Catholic Rochester and of Father McQuaid in New Jersey.

The revival of so-called Native Americanism in the modern Ku Klux Klan made opportune the previous publication of some material from this volume in the *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society. In the issue of 1920, *Know Nothingism in Rochester, New York,* was printed directly from the manuscript. The next year this Society printed another article, also in part based upon sources incorporated into the Life of Bishop McQuaid. Of this Richard J. Purcell wrote in the *American Catholic Historical Review,* January, 1922: "A thoroughly historical article with complete references and notes is that by Rev. Dr. Frederick J. Zwierlein of St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, N. Y., on the *Catholic Contribution to Liberty in the United States.* Like the previous work of Dr. Zwierlein on the Know Nothing Movement, this study will prove of basic value to the

student of American History." To make the whole work equally serviceable necessitated liberal citations from primary sources that are practically inaccessible to the reading public at large. It is impossible to escape their force when they are put into the text and not relegated to an appendix or to a separate volume that would fail to claim the attention of the general reader, and, in the second case, would also entail prohibitive expense. Considerations such as these led to the sacrifice of some literary excellence for the sake of historical truth. The notes, indicating the places from which the source material was taken, are arranged at the end of the volume, where they can easily be found under the heading of book and chapter by the historical student.

This source material is partly in print and partly in manuscript. Almost a century of newspaper files were put at the disposal of the writer in the rooms of the Rochester Historical Society, Reynolds' Reference Library, and the Rochester Union and Times, for which he is deeply indebted to their respective staffs. Even a greater debt of gratitude is owing to those who made the consultation of pertinent parish, diocesan, and archdiocesan records possible. Material of the utmost importance for this first volume was obtained especially from the archdiocesan archives of Baltimore and New York through the generous kindness of the late Cardinal Gibbons and of Cardinal Hayes. His Eminence of New York was Cardinal Farley's Chancellor at the time when this work was done, which he facilitated both in the Seminary at Dunwoodie and at the Archbishop's House in the City. Bishop O'Connor of Newark even allowed Bishop Bayley's Note Book, the Newark Register of Clergy, and the Seton Hall Catalogues to be sent for consultation to St. Bernard's Seminary. Parts of Bishop Timon's Diary from the Buffalo diocesan Archives also happened to become available, yielding important data for the background of Bishop McQuaid's episcopate. For his previous life in the priesthood, material was furnished by the Sisters of Charity at Convent Station in New Jersey and at Mount St. Joseph outside of Cincinnati in Ohio. They generously sent correspondence in the original or in copy, most of which made possible the chapter on the foundation of the Sisters of Charity of St. Elizabeth. To them and to all other

helpers grateful thanks are hereby extended for what was done to promote this work.

Here must also be mentioned the good service of my old Louvain professor of history, Canon Cauchie, who at Rome was preparing the referendum on this work for the *Imprimatur* of Father Lepidi, the Master of the Sacred Palace, when he met with an accident while returning from a reception tendered to Cardinal Mercier, that ended in his death. Through the persevering interest of Canon Cauchie's secretary, M. Isidore Versluys, this task was committed to Father Fredegand Callaey, upon whose report the Roman *Imprimatur* was granted. This gave the writer the supreme satisfaction that his work was in accord with Catholic principles on the teaching of faith and morals, no matter what criticism may be raised against "the honest and realistic history", which the distinguished lay convert, Mr. G. K. Chesterton, championed last summer at a Catholic Congress in Birmingham, England, pointing out that nothing finer had been said on that question than the remark of Leo XIII: "If the gospels were written in the way some Catholic books were written, we should never have heard of the kiss of Judas or the denial of Peter." The writer has never been tempted to doctor his facts this way. Moreover, he is firmly convinced that not only the clergy, but also the laity, should be educated to this high standard in historical writing, which is usually violated in anti-Catholic history.

A Catholic is not free to write history as he pleases. His work must meet the requirements of real faith and true science. These have been set forth precisely by Leo XIII so as to exclude any danger of warfare between Catholic truth and historical truth. In an encyclical to the Archbishops, Bishops, and Clergy of France, September 8, 1899, he expressly warned seminary students "that the history of the Church contains a body of dogmatic facts that are imposed by faith and may not be called in question." This, however, was but one side of the matter, and so he adds: "Because the Church, which continues amongst men the life of the Word Incarnate, is composed of a divine and a human element, the latter must be set forth by teachers and studied by students with great honesty, as it has been said in the Book of Job: 'Hath God any need of your lie?'" All that this involves had been clearly

indicated sixteen years before this encyclical. In his letter on Historical Studies to Cardinals de Luca, Pitra, and Hergenroether, August 18, 1883, Leo XIII quoted to them the words of Cicero: "that the first law of history is not to dare to say what is false; next, not to fear to state what is true; nor to let arise any suspicion of partiality or animosity in writing." Cicero, who introduces this matter by putting the question: "Who does not know this?", concludes the statement with the declaration that "these fundamental things are known to all." They are the selfevident rules of historical writing, the scrupulous observance of which would prevent it from ever being debased into a conspiracy against the truth. In fact, when the history of the Church is treated with due appreciation of the divine and human elements as constituent parts, there is no need of even skimping unpleasant facts, as the imperfections of the human element in the Church, in people, priest, bishop, yea even pope, will only make the divinity of the Church shine forth more unmistakingly. For this reason Leo XIII was so enthusiastic in his praise of the work of a great Catholic layman, Dr. Pastor. When the first volume of his *History of the Popes* appeared in English translation, Cardinal Bourne, in a preliminary notice to the book, pointed out the surprise experienced by the writers of anti-Catholic history at the insistence of Leo XIII "that the History of the Holy See and the Church should be written with absolute truth on the only just and imperishable principle that the *historica veritas* ought to be supreme, of which we have a divine example in Holy Writ, where the sins even of saints are as openly recorded as the wickedness of sinners."

The author of this volume has tried to do neither more nor less than to observe these principles of Catholic Historical writing in his work. The results of extensive research thus produced help to confirm Catholic faith that, no matter what are the powers of darkness arrayed against the Church, either from within or from without, *the gates of hell shall not prevail.*

BOOK I

CATHOLIC BEGINNINGS

1812 - 1847

PART OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK from a Map published by A. Finley, Phila. 1827.

Chapter I

THE FOUNDATION

The Catholics of Rochester can boast of having one of their Faith amongst the founders of their city in the person of Major Charles Carroll of Bellevue. The inscription on the tombstone of his grave in the Carroll-Fitzhugh Cemetery, Groveland, New York, tells that "Chas. Carroll of Bellevue was born at Carrollsburgh in the State of Maryland (now the city of Washington) on the 7 of Nov. 1767 and died in the Township of Groveland the 28 of Oct. 1823 in the 56th year of his age." He was called Charles Carroll of Bellevue, Maryland, to distinguish him from his cousins and contemporaries, Charles Carroll, Barnstoe, and Charles Carroll of Carrollton, a Catholic signer of the Declaration of Independence.[1]

The books of the Catholic Church at Hagerstown, though founded in 1786, do not go back far enough to give any information about the Catholic activity of Charles Carroll of Bellevue before his removal thence with his family to the Genesee country in 1815. However, a deed in trust of one of the churches in charge of the first resident priest at Hagerstown, the Reverend Denis Cahill, has the name of Charles Carroll amongst those who thus held the title to the property.[2] Besides, one of his sons, Charles Holker Carroll, is known to have graduated in 1812 from St. Mary's College, which was formerly attached to the Sulpitian Seminary at Baltimore.[3]

As early as November 8, 1803, Major Charles Carroll, Colonel Nathaniel Rochester, and Colonel William Fitzhugh purchased the One Hundred Acre Tract near the Upper Falls of the Genesee River within the present City of Rochester.[4] The three men also made heavy investments further up the Genesee Valley where the country was much more developed at that time. Some years later the *Ontario Messenger* of Canandaigua, New York, advertised accordingly:

VALUABLE LANDS FOR SALE TO ACTUAL SETTLERS

12,000 Acres of choice LAND, one third of which is first rate Flats on the Caneseraga creek, adjoining Mount Morris. No tract of equal size in this western section possesses superior advantages, either as to soil, streams, or valuable timber. The country adjoining is well settled, and affords every convenience as to Mills, Stores, Schools and Meeting Houses. Three fourths of the land offered for sale lie in Groveland, and one fourth in Sparta, Ontario county, state of New York. The terms will be one tenth cash, the residue in five annual payments, with interest on the whole to be paid annually. There is a valuable Saw-Mill, and a Pinery of about 600 acres, the soil of which is uncommonly rich. There are several improved Farms, and about 600 acres of cleared Flats, and 400 acres cleared Up-land. The Caneseraga creek runs thro' this tract about six miles, which is navigable. Rafts, and Produce of every description can be easily conveyed down the Genesee River to Rochester in 24 hours.

Apply to the subscribers, living at Williamsburg, on the Genesee River.

CARROLL & FITZHUGH.[5]

Williamsburg, Sept. 15, 1817.

Colonel Rochester's holdings were mainly located at Dansville, to which he had removed in 1810. His business enterprises there—a saw-mill, a grist-mill, a paper-mill, and a woolcarding-mill—were such a drain upon his resources that he once offered to sell his share in the One Hundred Acre Tract to Major Carroll. The latter declined to take advantage of his partner's embarrassment, telling him: "Hold on, and it's an estate for any man." January 13, 1811, Nathaniel Rochester gave expression to his gratitude for this act of kindness in writing from Dansville to Charles Carroll: "I return you my sincere thanks for your advice to keep my Genesee Falls estate. I am aware of the growing value of that property, and although I am not as sanguine as you are about its future value, yet I believe the time is not far distant when it will be worth $15,000, or $5,000 a share. I have been applied to for business lots there, and there is no doubt of there being a village there and much business done if lots could be had. It must become a town of great business at some future period."[6]

When Nathaniel Rochester laid out the village called by his own name, he strove to honor the name of Carroll by giving it to one of its principal streets. It was a little act of

AFTER THE PORTRAIT IN ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE NEW YORK

+ John Connolly

Second Bishop of New York, 1814-1825, but the first to reach his see, as his predecessor, Bishop Concanen, died in Naples before he was able to leave Italy.

grateful remembrance, which unfortunately was annulled by a resolution passed by the trustees of the village, September 13, 1831: "Resolved, That the name of Carroll street be changed to State street."[7] The son of Major Charles Carroll, Charles Holker Carroll, had entered into litigation with the village about the title to the site of the river market, and the village trustees thus sought to revenge themselves on the Carroll family years after the father had died in whose honor Nathaniel Rochester had gratefully named Carroll street. While the village was laid out in lots in 1811, the settlement was not actually begun till the following year.

At this time Catholicism had obtained hardly more than a foothold on the banks of the Hudson River within the State of New York. Only two Catholic Churches had been completed, one in New York City, St. Peter's Church, and the other in Albany, St. Mary's Church. Old St. Patrick's Cathedral was still building at the time. Although the Diocese of New York was established in 1808, the first Bishop appointed to that See, the Irish Dominican Father, Luke Concanen, a British subject, had not been able to find his way out of Italy in the disturbed condition of that country, and died rather suddenly in Naples, June 19, 1810. The deceased prelate only received a successor in the autumn of 1814, when another Irish Dominican Father, John Connolly, also an English subject, was nominated to the vacant See of New York.

The new Bishop did not arrive in his episcopal City till November 24, 1815. His first letter to Archbishop Troy of Dublin, after his arrival in the country, reveals the condition of the Diocese. According to the entry in his Note Book, giving a summary of the letter, he first referred to "Catholics dispersed through the country parts of the State . . . where they seldom see a priest: they are not able to maintain one in any particular district—ambulatory zealous priests necessary for them, to prevent their children from conforming to the persuasions of neighboring sectaries, who all of them have their respective ministers. Only four priests in the Diocese, though the Catholics of New York and its district are about seventeen thousand."[8] How real the danger of a loss of Faith was to the children of these dispersed Catholics is best exemplified by the case of Charles Holker Carroll, who became a

prominent Episcopalian, being regularly enrolled as a church member of the Episcopalian Church at Geneseo, and repeatedly a lay deputy to Episcopalian Conventions. However, this did not prevent him from donating, for the benefit of three hundred Irish Catholics working on the Genesee Valley Canal at Mount Morris, a piece of ground near Brushville, upon which was built a poor chapel, or rather a shanty, where these poor but faithful Catholics met to practice their religion.[9] Many of these were blessed in their posterity, but Charles Holker Carroll, although he had been a Judge of Livingston County, a successful candidate for the State Legislature as well as for Congress, was the last of these Carrolls, bearing the name at the time of his death in his Groveland home, July 22, 1865.[10]

While there was some leakage of this kind from the Catholic Church in these early years, there were also Catholic settlers throughout northern, central, and western New York, who gave remarkable evidence of attachment to the Faith of their Fathers. This vast region was all comprised in the Albany district, and its Catholic population was in charge of the pastor of St. Mary's Church in Albany. Thus early settlers in Rochester and its vicinity had to cover three hundred miles, generally on foot, or at best on any available conveyance, in order to hear Mass, to go to confession and communion, to have a child baptized, or to receive other sacraments. A pioneer Catholic, Felix McGuire, who often made the laborious journey over the wild and dangerous road through the woods, requested the priest stationed at Albany to come to Rochester once a year, or at least once in two or three years, to visit the dispersed sheep of Christ's flock there. Even in these early years, the priest would have been glad to come, but the great distance, the impossibility of leaving alone his flock during the time required then for such a visit, and the lack of means presented insurmountable difficulties.[11] At times a vacancy at Albany even compelled Catholics to push on to New York for spiritual ministration. The Klems of Rochester and the Kernans of Steuben County are said to have submitted to such hardships of pioneer life in order to have a child baptized.[12]

Conditions such as these led "the Rev. and Right Rev. Fathers, the Archbishop of Baltimore and the Bishops of the

JOHN B. KLEM

ANNA MARIA KLEM

Born in Marlen, Baden, Mr. Klem came to Rochester with his family in 1816 after a short time spent in Canada. He is said to have been the first to market garden fruits here from his land, corner East Avenue and Goodman St. He died at the age of 76, Jan. 26, 1856, and she at the age of 83, March 31, 1862.

BERNARD KLEM

The oldest son of John Klem came to Rochester with his parents when he was seven years old. He was a trustee of St. Patrick's Church, when St. Mary's German (later called St. Joseph's) Church was organized, of which he also became a trustee and the main benefactor. He married three times, having 22 children by his first and third wife and a step son by his second wife. Six of his children and the stepson died before him. He died at the age of 70, Jan. 21, 1879, leaving considerable property to his surviving children and $1000 each to St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum and the Catholic Young Men's Society, etc.

ANNA MARIA KLEM (MINGES)

Born in Rochester Oct. 31, 1818, she is said to have been carried to New York for baptism by her mother, accompanied by little Bernard Klem. At the age of 21, Jan. 28, 1840, she married Balthasar Minges, who later became an Overseer of the Poor. She died July 12, 1878, aged 59 years, 8 months, and 12 days. Mr. Minges died April 5, 1888.

United States of North America, in their Provincial Council, celebrated in the month of October, 1829," to request the "Holy Father, that, because of the scarcity of priests, the distance of stations, and a custom already existing, he would grant, for all those dioceses, faculties to extend the time to fulfil the precept of Easter Communion, from the first Sunday in Lent to Trinity Sunday, both included." The Holy Father kindly granted the requested faculties, September 26, 1830.[13] No doubt ancient customs are likewise reflected in the directions that are given to the laity without a priest in the Pastoral of the Baltimore Council, October 27, 1833:

> Let them be earnest and regular in the great duty of prayer, especially on the Lord's Day, holy-days, and days of devotion; on these occasions we advise them to assemble together, if there be two or more families, and uniting in spirit with the priest who offers the holy sacrifice in their vicinity, or with the bishop of the diocese, let them at the usual hour of worship, unless some other be much more convenient, recite their form of prayer for the Mass, read some approved book for instruction or some Catholic sermon; have their children catechised; preserve and increase a spirit of charity and affection for each other; mutually encourage each other to perservance, and consult occasionally how they might be able to procure a visit from some priest for the necessary purposes of religion. Let them cautiously abstain from vice; for it has sometimes unfortunately happened that, despairing of that ministry upon which they placed their reliance, they became reckless and criminal. We assure them that, though unfortunately thus placed beyond the reach of our ministerial aid, they are dear to our hearts, are not forgotten in our suffrages; we are solicitous for their welfare, and entreat, and desire those priests, who may, by any exertion, be able to afford them the benefit of their ministry, to regard as one of their first obligations, the duty of visiting and sustaining them when at all compatible with those other functions, to which they are specially devoted.[14]

Similarity of circumstances, in all probability, also occasioned such customs in the settlement days amongst the faithful Catholic people in the Rochester district. However, Bishop Connolly certainly tried to improve primitive conditions. As early as May 30, 1817, he wrote to Reverend Michael O'Gorman, whom he had appointed to Albany; "Should the faithful of different places around and within the district of Albany be required to contribute to the support of the priest at Albany, it is right that the latter should from

time to time give them Mass at their respective places of abode on Sunday."[15] In fact, according to a Catholic tradition, this priest had been sent the previous year by the Bishop to Auburn in response to the petition of John O'Connor and Hugh Ward, who offered to defray the expenses of the journey.[16] During this visit to the four or five Catholic families in Auburn, Father O'Gorman, as Bishop Timon writes, celebrated Mass, preached in the Court House, and baptized several children.[17] The Mass is reported to have been said in the O'Connor Home on Water St. Father O'Gorman pushed his missionary journeying further west in 1818, if not before. For the *Ontario Messenger* of Canandaigua, advertised the following Notice, June 30, 1818: "The Rev. Dr. O'Gorman, a Roman Catholic Priest, and Rector of St. Mary's Church, Albany, will preach at the Court House in this village, THIS DAY, at *six o'clock* in the afternoon—and at the village of Williamsburg, in the town of Groveland, on Sunday, the 5th day of July next, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon." There is reason to believe that Father O'Gorman on this occasion also visited Rochester, which was within easy reach from Canandaigua or Williamsburg. The journey apparently was to prepare the organization of a Catholic Church at Utica, which brought the ministry of a priest a little nearer to the Catholic settlers in the Rochester district. At all events some of their number were actively interested in its establishment, as is evident from the following document in the Utica Courthouse:

> We hereby certify that a meeting of persons belonging to the catholic Church was held at the house of John C. Devereux in the village of Utica, being the place where they have statedly attended for divine worship, on the 25th day of January in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and nineteen, for the purpose of availing themselves of the benefit of the act entitled "An act to provide for the incorporation of religious societies", that public notice had been given on Sunday the 10th day of January, inst., to the congregation of said Church, by the Rev. Dr. Gorman, a priest thereof, and on two successive Sundays by John C. Devereux, a member of said church, the said priest being absent, and there being no other officers of the church, that an election would be held at the time and place first above mentioned, for the purpose of choosing trustees, to transact all affairs relative to the temporalities thereof, and thereupon we, John O'Connor and James Lynch, being nominated by a majority of the members present to preside at such election, did proceed to take their votes, and we further

ST. MARY'S CHURCH, ALBANY, N. Y.
Parish Church of Rochester till 1819, although 227 miles distant.

ST. JOHN'S CHURCH, UTICA, N. Y.
Parish Church of Rochester till 1821,
although 133 miles distant.

certify that John O'Connor, John C. Devereux, Nicholas Devereux, Morris Hogan, Oliver Weston, Thomas McCarthy, James Lynch, John McGuire of Rochester, and Charles Carroll of Genesee River were duly elected trustees, and thereupon it was resolved that the said trustees and their successors shall be known and designated by the name and title of the "Trustees of the First Catholic Church in the Western District of the State of New York."

JOHN O'CONNOR,
JAMES LYNCH.

Dated January 26, 1819.[18]

Three members of this Board of Trustees, John O'Connor of Auburn, John McGuire of Rochester, and Charles Carroll of Genesee River, were inhabitants of the territory now comprised in the Rochester Diocese. Both John O'Connor and John McGuire have left traces of further religious activity behind them, but here the name of Charles Carroll disappears from the pages of the Catholic History of the region. This is due to his removal from the Genesee country on his appointment as United States registrar of deeds for the territory of Missouri. October 18, 1819, Charles Carroll, "now of Ontario County,"—this was before the establishment of Livingston County—drew up a document giving the power of attorney to his son, Charles Holker Carroll.[19] In this capacity, the latter advertised in the *Ontario Messenger* of Canandaigua

FOR SALE

6000 Acres of prime Land, one third Flats, at the junction of the Caneseraga with the Genesee River in the towns Groveland and Sparta, Ontario county. The lot will be subdivided to suit purchasers. There are several improved Farms, uniting Upland and Flats.

Also—an excellent stand for a Tavern and Store, in Williamsburg—the house commodious and well furnished—a good orchard, gardens, barn, &c., with as much land as may be desired.

Also—from 50 to 60 village lots, and a number of mill seats in Rochesterville, Genesee county.

Also—3000 acres in and adjoining the District of Columbia.

Also—400 acres on Sligo Creek, with a large Grist Mill and Distillery, 4 miles from Washington.

The above property will all be sold low, and on extended payments; but for *cash*, great deductions would be made. Apply to the subscriber, living at Williamsburg, Ontario co., or to Dr. Backus, Rochester.

CHARLES H. CARROLL.

November 1, 1819.

SALE AT AUCTION
(on 5 years' credit)
OF LOTS & MILL-SEATS
in Rochester

On Saturday the 11th of Dec. next, at 10 o'clock A. M. will be sold to the highest bidder, at Ainsworth's Hotel in Rochesterville, Genesee co. the following valuable property, viz—Lot G. cornering on Buffalo and Mill Streets, the most eligible vacant lot for a Tavern or Store in Rochester—Lots: H, I, J, K, L, N and O, on Mill street—5 lots on Sophia street—5 do on Hughes street— 2 do on Fitzhugh street, and No. 194 on Buffalo street. Also one or two of the most valuable Mill seats in Rochester.

Terms of sale—One eighth in 60 days, (by giving notes with approved security), and the residue in five equal annual payments with interest on the whole, payable annually.—Title indisputable.

CHARLES H. CARROLL.

Nov. 5, 1819.

Various deeds drawn up by him and on record in the Monroe County Court House, in the years 1820-1822, give the father's residence at Franklin, Missouri.[20] After the murder of his eldest son, Henry, in the West, the father again returned to his residence in Groveland at Williamsburg. Here, September 14, 1823, about six weeks before his death, Charles Carroll of Bellevue made his last will and testament containing an invocation of God, but no further mention of anything religious.[21]

The year following the removal of Charles Carroll to the West is precisely the time of the first organization of Catholics in the Rochester district. This important work was accomplished under the direction of the first resident pastor of Utica, Reverend John Farnan, who had been employed by the Catholic gentlemen there at Father O'Gorman's request on the recommendation of Bishop Connolly, inasmuch as they had not given the latter "a discretionary power of sending them a priest." Bishop Connolly thus wrote Father O'Gorman, February 10, 1819, after he gave Father Farnan, in the same letter, "powers and faculties, till new orders, or any revocation of them, to teach, preach, administer Sacraments, and perform all other functions that do not require Episcopal Ordination or Character or the Extraordinary powers of a Bishop; in all parts of this Diocese except the District of New York, and also that of Albany unless with the express license of Rd. Mr. Gorman."[22]

As early as May 24, 1819, the following announcement appeared at Utica: "Father Farnan, who is now established rector of the first Catholic church of the western district of New York, has returned from a circuit through said district, and will perform divine service at the Academy, on Sunday the 30th. J. Lynch, Secretary."[23] The *Cayuga Republican* informed its readers, July 7, 1819: "The people of Auburn and its vicinity are hereby notified that the Rev. Dr. Foman (?), Roman Catholic Rector of Utica, has arrived in this village and will perform Divine service in the Court House Sunday, the 11th inst., at half past ten o'clock, A. M., and at five P. M." A similar notice appeared in the same newspaper, February 16, 1820: "The Rev. John Farnan, Rector of the Roman Catholic Church in Utica will preach in the Court House in this village on Sunday next. Service to commence at half past ten and at half past three in the afternoon." During his stay in Auburn on this occasion, the sacrament of matrimony was also celebrated according to a press notice: "Married—in this village by the Rev. John Farnan, D.D., Pastor of the Catholic Church in Utica, Mr. Daniel Hayden to Miss Catherine Bruer, both of this village."[24] Although these bits of news might lead one to expect an organization of Catholics in Auburn before that of Rochester, the *Miscellaneous Records*, Vol. I, p. 13, in the Office of the Monroe County Clerk, prove the contrary to have been the case.

> At a meeting of the Catholicks of Rochester Village & its vicinity held in the Mansion House in said village on 12 of July 1820 Rev. John Farnan R. C. Pastor of the District in the Chair the following board consisting of five was unanimously elected to manage the temporal concerns of R. C. Church at Rochester.
>
> Phelix McGuire, John McGuire, James Flynn, Patrick Buckley, Patrick McCrisigan.
>
> Phelix McGuire Treasurer Mr Owen McGuire Secretary
>
> Recd for Record September 20, 1821 at 4 o'clock P. M. & Recorded & Examined N. ROCHESTER Clk

Thus the third Roman Catholic Church of the Western district[25] was organized—the second was the church established at Carthage on the black River in Jefferson County almost contemporaneously with the Utica Church. It is noteworthy that about all the officers of the Rochester congregation were original settlers in the Irish colony at Mount Read.

According to a story current in Episcopalian circles, they were men of considerable initiative and enterprise. The proprietors of the One Hundred Acre Tract had offered "to convey lot No. 85 to the first religious society that should take possession of the same and build a church thereon." July 10, 1820, the Vestry of St. Luke's Episcopal Church resolved to take advantage of the offer. The story here relates:

> Before the lot, however, was definitely secured, an effort was made in the Roman Catholic interest to forestall the Vestry, and a messenger was sent to Geneseo to secure the signatures of Messrs. Fitzhugh and Carroll, who resided in that locality, to a deed of gift. But the Vestry despatched Mr. Henry E. Rochester, then a lad of fourteen years, on a fleeter horse with a similar object in view. The latter succeeded in overtaking and passing the other messenger, who was tarrying for refreshment in the tavern at Avon, and so obtained the necessary signatures, to which that of the senior proprietor was cheerfully added. Meanwhile, the Vestry had taken practical possession by digging for a foundation and drawing building material on the lot.

The story was first printed by the Reverend Henry Anstice, D.D., in his *Annals of St. Luke's Church, Rochester, N. Y. 1817-1883*.[26] It was almost verbally repeated by Jane E. Rochester, the daughter of Henry E. Rochester, in the *Memorial Sketches* of her father after his death, June 3, 1889.[27] However, the first deed made by Nathaniel Rochester of Rochesterville, Genesee Co., William Fitzhugh of Groveland, and Charles Carroll of Franklin, Missouri Territory, in favor of the Vestry and Wardens of St. Luke's Parish at Rochesterville and their successors is dated December 21, 1820. It is a deed of gift, the consideration being really one Dollar, and only "for the purpose of erecting a house of Public Worship and no other, and that should the lot be appropriated to any other purpose, then in that case this conveyance shall be null & void."[28] There were some flaws in this first deed, and so August 14, 1821, a new deed was issued to St. Luke's representatives.[29] The *Rochester Telegraph* prints nothing of the scramble for this property; it only states that "a numerous meeting of Catholics was held on Wednesday, the 12th inst., and a subscription was opened by the Rev. Mr. Farnan for building a church in this village."[30] What is much more significant is the fact that there is not the least trace of evi-

dence in the contemporary minutes of St. Luke's History to substantiate this bit of gossip as history.

After this organization of the Catholic Church in Rochester, Father Farnan evidently thought the time had come to put the Catholics of Auburn on the same footing. The *Cayuga Republican* again advertised, July 26, 1820, that "the Reverend John Farnan of the Roman Catholic Church will preach next Sabbath at the Court House at half past 10 o'clock A. M. and at 4 P. M."[31] A significant announcement followed in the same newspaper, August 9, 1820: "We understand that the Reverend Mr. Farnan has obtained a legal title to a lot in a conspicuous part of this village and that exertions are making to commence forthwith the building of a house of worship for the use of the Catholic Church." In fact, *Book W Deeds of 1819*—, Cayuga County Clerk's Office, Auburn, records August 22, 1820, that "Hyde, Beach & Co. . . . for the sum of five dollars in hand sell to the Trustees of the Fourth Catholic Church of the Western District of New York, Hugh Ward, John Connor, James Hickson, Thomas Hickson, and David Lawler that part of the lot 46 in the town of Aurelius known as town lot No. 15, sufficient for a church and burial ground, provided that said trustees within five years erect a house of worship. Otherwise the land described shall revert to the original owners."

Neither Rochester nor Auburn saw a Church built while these districts remained under the jurisdiction of the Pastor of Utica. Probably the last ministration of this priest in the region is recorded by the *Rochester Telegraph,* May 29, 1821: "Married—In this village, on the 24th inst., by the Rev. Mr. Farnan of Utica, Mr. John Sheridan to Miss Catherine M'Crisigan, both of this place. On the 25th inst., in this town by the same, Mr. Jeremie Barns to Miss Lessey Loyd." A parchment deposited in the Corner Stone of the first Monroe County Court House, which was laid September 1, 1821, mentions Reverend Kelly as the minister of the Roman Catholic Religious Society in Rochester.[32] The *Catholic Almanac* for 1822, in its clergy list of the New York Diocese, gives the name of the first resident pastor of Rochester as follows: "REV. PATRICK KELLY, Auburn, Rochester, and other districts in the western parts of the State." The parchment

scroll of 1821 summarizes the condition of the County at the time of his arrival so as to warrant its insertion here.

An Inscription deposited in the corner-stone of the Court House in the County of Monroe and State of New York:

The County of Monroe was erected out of parts of the Counties of Ontario and Genesee, by a law passed on the 20th Feb., 1821.—containing 410,000 acres of territory and a population of 26,526 souls by the U. States census of 1820.

The Hon. Elisha B. Strong, first Judge;
Timothy Barnard, Levi Clark, and John Bowman } Esqus. } Judges
James Seymour, Esq., Sheriff
Nathaniel Rochester, Esq., Clerk,
Nathaniel Rochester, Esq., the first representative from the county.

The first settlement within the territory of this county was made at Pittsford by Israel and Simon Stone, and at Perinton by Glover Perin in 1790; and by Zadok Granger and Gideon King, in the town of Gates in 1796.

There are now formed a County *Bible, Medical,* and *Agricultural Societies.*

ROCHESTER VILLAGE—The village bridge across the Genesee river was commenced in 1810, and finished in 1812. It was first surveyed into village lots in 1811, and the first building erected in 1812. It was incorporated under the title of ROCHESTERVILLE in February, 1817, of which Matthew Brown Jr., is now President. On the 1st of August, 1820, the village contained by United States census, 1,502 souls, viz., 1,069 on the West and 433 on the East side of the river.

There are five Religious Societies: The Presbyterian, the pastorate vacant; Episcopalian,—the Rev. F. H. Cummings, minister; Baptist—Rev. Eliphelet M. Spencer, elder; Methodist—Rev. Oren Miller, minister; Roman Catholic—Rev. —— Kelly, minister.

There is also a Masonic and Mechanics' society; 2 weekly newspapers; 25 merchants' stores, 80 mechanics' shops, 4 flouring mills, 7 saw mills, 1 oil mill, 1 paper mill, 4 carding machines; 3 clothiers' works; 2 trip-hammers; 1 patent nail factory; 1 cotton factory; 2 furnaces; 1 brewery; 2 distilleries.

Capt. William Brittin, as contractor, commenced erecting the Acqueduct Bridge, to carry the Grand Canal over the Genesee river in August, 1821.

PORT OF GENESEE, (of which Jesse Hawley, Esq., is collector,)—From thence there was exported down the river St. Lawrence during the year 1820

67,468 bbls. Flour, 5,310 do. Pot and Pearl Ashes. 2,643 do. Beef and Pork; together with lumber, whiskey, cider, and sundries, valued at $375,000.

This Corner Stone was laid on the 1st day of September, anno Domini, 1821, by

LEVI WARD, JR.,
ELISHA ELY AND
JAMES SEYMOUR, ESQ. } *Commissioners*

PHELPS SMITH, *Master Builder*

DANIEL TUCKER,
ELIAS BEACH
JOHN SWIFT, } *Contractors*

Accompanied with a procession of the Rev. Clergy, the public officers of the county and village, the Mechanics' Society, band of Music, and numerous concourse of citizens. Prayer and Address delivered on the occasion, by the Rev. E. M. Spencer.

His Excellency, DE WITT CLINTON, Governor of the State of New York.

His Hon. JOHN TAYLOR, Lt. Governor of the same.

The County was named in honor of His Excellency, JAMES MONROE, now President of the United States of America.

Justitia Fiat si ruat coelum!!!

Let Justice be done, tho' the Heavens be destroyed!!!

The field of labor assigned to Father Patrick Kelly embraced all that constitutes the Diocese of Rochester and Buffalo today. Like his predecessor, he repeatedly in 1821 and 1822 advertised his ministrations in the *Cayuga Republican* for the benefit of the Catholics of Auburn and its vicinity. July 25, 1821, the advertisement announced that "the Reverend Mr. Kelly, Roman Catholic Clergyman Pastor of the Auburn District, will officiate on Sunday next July 29th in the School House, alias the Academy Green, between 10 and 11 o'clock." August 1, 1821, he again had the public notified of his services in the same place at the same hour. Then no press notice appears till the autumn, when his services are advertised for November 18th, and November 25th, but this last time the place designated was the Court House. A marriage notice in the *Cayuga Republican*, January 2, 1822, furnishes the evidence that Father Kelly was in Auburn to solemnize this sacrament, December 27, 1821: "Married—On Thursday evening last by the Rev. Mr. Kelly, Mr. James Hickson of this village to Miss Jane Nickleson, daughter of Humphrey Nicholson of Mentz." The last advertisement of Father Kelly's ministry in Auburn appeared in the issue of March 20, 1822, stating "that he will officiate on Sunday next, March 24th at the Academy Green School House" at the usual

time. His care of these Catholics in the eastern part of his district did not make Father Kelly forgetful of the claims of the Catholic population to the West. According to Bishop Timon's testimony, Father Kelly extended his ministry to Buffalo: "The few Catholics of this place were next visited by the Reverend Mr. Kelly of Rochester, who said Mass in St. Paul's Episcopal Church, only five Catholic families in attendance."[33] This widely scattered ministry did not hinder Catholic development in the place of his residence.

Steps were taken in the spring of 1822 to obtain a site for a church in Rochester, and April 29th "Felix McGuire, John McGuire, Patrick McChristen, and James A. Flynn, Trustees of the third Roman Catholic Church of the western district", bought of William Mumford for the sum of two hundred dollars the corner lot, fronting 70 ft. on Platt St., and running back 132 ft. along Frank St., "for the purpose of erecting and building thereon a Church, or house of Public Worship and for a Cemetery or burial ground, and for no other use or purpose: provided, and these presents are upon this express condition, that if no church or House of Public Worship shall be erected or built thereon within the period of five years from the date hereof, then the said lot of Land and premises shall revert" to the seller of the property.[34] A mortgage of the same date as the deed was executed by the trustees in favor of William Mumford to secure him the purchase money. The mortgage "was wholly paid either by individual subscriptions or the funds of the different members of the Catholic Society and others, and not out of the private funds and property of these trustees, although each of them contributed some money towards paying the mortgage." Building operations were begun soon after this purchase.[35] The first Directory of the Village of Rochester, dated 1827, but printed February 1828, by Elisha Ely, describes the first Catholic Church erected in Rochester, of which no picture is extant as far as is known.

THE ROMAN CATHOLICK CHAPEL

Is situated on Platt-street, a few rods west of State-street, in the north part of the village. It is built of stone, on elevated ground, from which a fine prospect of the village is presented.

The building is forty-two feet long and thirty-eight feet wide, with large Gothick windows. It was built in the year 1823.[36]

The southern part of State Street is here called Carroll Street; opposite E on Buffalo St. was Crane's school, used for Catholic worship while the second St. Patrick's church was building.

This Directory of Rochester for 1827, in its list of Religious Societies, contains the statement that the pastorate of the Roman Catholic Denomination was "vacant" at the time.[37] Precisely that year, Carthage, on the Black River in Jefferson County, is said to have been "attended by Rev. Patrick Kelly."[38] The census of Rochester printed in the Directory gives the name of Rev. J. M'Cormick as a boarder with John G. Christopher, who kept the Mansion House tavern.[39] There is no indication of the Faith which this minister professed, but Bishop Timon, in his History, speaks of a visit to Rochester by a Rev. Patrick McCormack in 1818, and by Rev. Francis Kelly in 1819. His Francis Kelly is evidently Patrick Kelly, who was only ordained in 1821, and no trace of a Patrick McCormack can be found elsewhere amongst the Catholic Clergy of those early days in the United States, as John Gilmary Shea but repeats the words of Bishop Timon.[40]

Meanwhile, Bishop John Dubois had been appointed the successor of Bishop Connolly, who died February 6, 1825. The consecration of the new Bishop took place in the Cathedral of Baltimore, October 29, 1826. If Bishop Dubois made a visitation throughout the State of New York in the following summer, as has been asserted, his personal observations must have been responsible for his active interest in the revival of Catholicism in Rochester. The following letter copied into the minutes of the Trustees of St. Patrick's Church gives proof of the fact:

New York, October 7th, 1827.

To Mr. Horan,

Dear Sir

Inclosed I send you the Bill of the vestments-vizt—

One white Vestment including all materials and making	$14.77
One Green-Do-Do	12.71
One Black-Do-Do	13.80½
One Purple-Do-Do	13.71
One Alter Stone	3.00
Amount	$57.99½

I make a present to the Church on condition that it shall not be lent out or carried away by any Clergyman attending-of

A Chalice of Silver	Linen for the Chalice
The Body of a Crucifix	A Mass-book in folio
An Alb of Linen for every day	Alter Cards.

You will be so good as to present or send me the amount of the above articles I advanced out of my money Vizt $57.99½, for it is on condition of its being returned to me immediately that I gave the other articles.

You will remember that I wish the Salary of the Clergyman to be fixed at $600 *per annum* only, at least until the Church is completely finished, the addition put to it, the Steeple completed with a Bell, and a house built for the Clergyman adjoining the Sacristy, so that he may pass from his house to the Church in all weathers. Until that is done I wish the Clergyman to live in a private respectable house as boarder, not in a tavern. You must also have a Confession Box built immediately for the priest to hear confessions, as it is improper for him to hear them without—And no confession of women in a private house except in case of sickness.

Yours in haste most respectfully

JOHN BISHOP OF N. YORK.

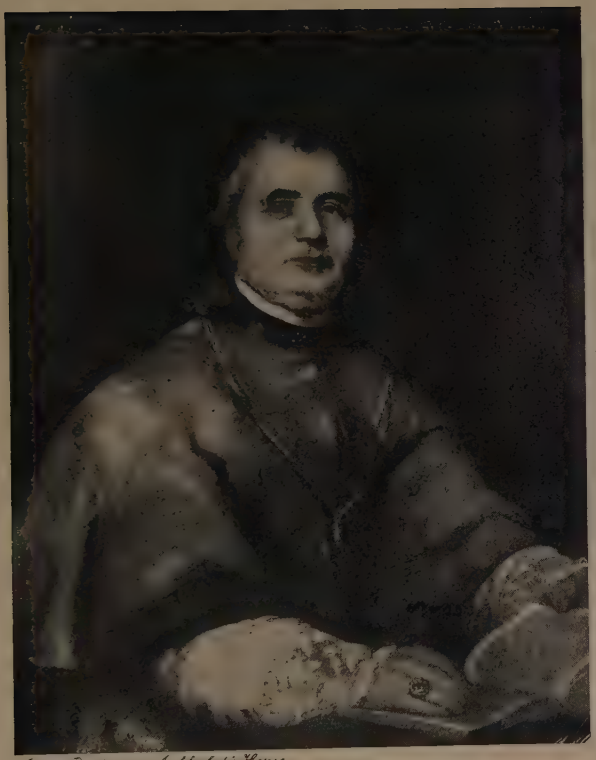
Much more important than all this was the fact that Bishop Dubois sent another resident priest to Rochester in the person of the Reverend Michael MacNamara, who before had been the assistant clergyman at St. Peter's Church in New York City.[41] The new pastor of St. Patrick's Church identified himself with various movements organized in the Rochester community. When the *Hibernian Benevolent Society of Rochester, Monroe County,* was founded, he was elected its President. He continued to sign himself as President of the Society in various advertisements for its incorporation by the Legislature from 1828 to 1831.[42] The following resolutions unanimously adopted in a preliminary meeting of the natives of Ireland, June 28, 1828, reveal the objects of the association:

Whereas it has pleased the all-wise Creator to afford the persecuted and oppressed of every creed and clime an asylum in this peculiarly favored land, with the free and unqualified enjoyment of political and religious freedom.

And whereas the illustrious Father of this Republic has declared in his farewell address to Congress the following highly patriotic and just opinion—"Citizens by birth, or citizens by choice of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections."

And whereas the amended constitution of the United States also guarantees equal rights and privileges to both classes of citizens, whether native or adopted.

And whereas the Charter of American liberty, the Declaration of Independence, penned by the immortal Jefferson, has the following emphatic passage therein—"Mankind are born equal".



From Painting in Archbishop's House.

J. Dubois

Third Bishop of New York, 1826-1842

And whereas the same document wisely alleges as one of the leading causes for effecting separation of the then 13 American colonies from the tyrannic government of England—"That she refused to pass laws for the naturalization of emigrants to this country, though the God of Nature ordained that man should be of his own image, and that all should be free and equal."

And whereas in a particular manner, Ireland is now, and has been for centuries groaning under a bondage unparalleled in cruelty—

We, the subscribers, believing in the efficiency of active benevolence, the first born of that heavenly virtue, charity, do hereby voluntarily agree to associate together for the purpose of forming a bond of union for religious and charitable purposes, as well as for affording our recently arrived fellow countrymen such information as might facilitate their becoming citizens of these United States.

Resolved, That we deem it expedient to form a *Hibernian Society* in this village whose object shall be

1st. To collect subscriptions and donations from the members of the Society, or from others who might be friendly thereto.

2d. The funds to be appropriated towards relieving any deserving members of the Society, or their families who might become indigent.

3d. To maintain destitute orphans of members of the society, and to educate them in the principles of religion.

4th. To devise measures to induce every republican Irishman, who may design locating himself in the village, to become a citizen of these United States.

Resolved that a committee of 13 persons together with the Chairman and Secretary be now appointed, in order to prepare a constitution of this Society, and that they report the same at the next general meeting, whereupon the following persons were appointed to be the said Committee:—Patrick Cavanagh, John Sheridan, John MacNamara, John Williams, James Cavanagh, James Lafferty, Peter Doyle, Edward Wallace, John Gorman, Peter Lynch, Benjamin Readshaw, Michael O'Kelly, and Patrick Kearney.

Resolved, That the proceedings of this meeting be signed by the chairman and secretary and published.

WILLIAM TONE, Ch'n.

JOHN DAVID WALSH, Sec'y.[43]

The constitution and by-laws were duly presented at the next meeting held in the Roman Catholic Church of the village. William Tone of Chili was again Chairman, and John David Walsh Secretary. In addition to the purpose of the Society already announced, the public were informed after the meeting that "every republican Irishman, or his son, of good moral character, from the age of 18 to 50, is qualified to become a member of this society, without any religious distinction"; that "the officers of this Society shall consist of a

President, two Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, a Secretary, assistant Secretary, and seven Managers; and these 13 persons shall be designated 'The Board of Directors' "; that "every person, on being admitted a member of this Society, shall pay the sum of one dollar initiation fee. The dues are twenty-five cents for each month." The officers elected by the Society were Rev. Michael Macnamara, R. C., Pastor, President; Andrew Donaldson, 1st Vice-President; William Tone, 2nd Vice-President; John Sheridan, Treasurer; John David Walsh, Secretary; Benjamin Readshaw, Assistant Secretary. The Managers chosen were Peter Lynch, Patrick Cavanagh, Robert J. Curry, Thomas Brady, Patrick J. Macnamara, Garrett Finlay, and Philip Carroll.[44]

By its very nature, the Hibernian Benevolent Society was practically a Catholic organization, though it did expressly stipulate that qualification for membership was open to Irishmen "without any religious distinction." However, a movement appealing to larger classes also enlisted the active support of the new pastor of St. Patrick's Church. July 21, 1828, a meeting of the citizens of Rochester was held in the Court House, at which Dr. L. Ward, Jr., was appointed Chairman, and B. F. Hurlburt chosen Secretary. It was there resolved "That it is expedient to form a society for the promotion of temperance." The committee appointed to draft a constitution has the name of the Catholic priest in the list of its members. They were Gen. V. Mathews, Samuel Works, Jonathan Child, B. F. Hurlburt, Rev. J. Penney, Wm. Atkinson, Dr. A. G. Smith, Rev. O. C. Comstock, E. F. Marshall, Rev. O. Miller, Dr. M. Brown, Jr., Rev. Mr. Macnamara, Jacob Scott, and Willis Kempshall.[45] At a meeting in the Court House, August 1, 1828, the *Rochester Society for the Promotion of Temperance* elected its officers, and the Pastor of St. Patrick's Church was also chosen as one of the Directors of the Society. The officers were Vincent Mathews, President; Samuel Works, Vice-President; and Elihu F. Marshall, Secretary; the Directors were Daniel Loomis, Jacob Graves, Phelps Smith, Mich'l Macnamara, A. W. Riley, Benj. F. Hurlburt, Jacob Strawn, and Jonathan Child.[46]

Before Father McNamara had finished an entire year's residence in Rochester, Bishop Dubois arrived in town for a

visitation of St. Patrick's parish. The *Rochester Telegraph*, September 25, 1828, lists him among the distinguished strangers lodged at the Rochester House. He found that the trustees were the same as were elected officers of the parish at the time of its organization under Father Farnan, with the exception of Patrick McChristian who died July 10, 1826.[47] It was to these men that the Bishop sent a letter with regulations for their guidance this same month of September. The pewholders and voters of the congregation then assembled, and "agreeably to the recommendation of the Bishop, determined that the Salary of the Clergyman henceforth be $600 *per annum.*"[48]

Although the first organization of the Catholic Church in Rochester had been filed with the County Clerk, it was not a legal incorporation. To remedy the defect, a meeting of the Roman Catholic Congregation assembled in their Church on Easter Monday, April 20, 1829.[49] The requirements of the law were satisfied, and an election of trustees was held, of which the Inspectors filed the following certificate in the County Clerk's Office.

We, whose names are hereunto fixed, do hereby certify that, at a meeting of the male Roman Catholics of Rochester and its vicinity, of full age and entitled to vote, held this day in the Roman Catholic Church of this village of Rochester, The following persons were duly elected Trustees, viz.

William Tone	Stephen Conroy
Robert Elliott	Patrick Rigny
John Sheridan	Patrick Grace
William Greenan	Richard Story
William Morony	

For the Congregation of the said Church, then and there organized in pursuance of an act passed by the Legislature of the State on the 5th day of April, one thousand eight hundred and thirteen, Entitled an act to provide for the Incorporation of Religious Societies, for the purpose of organizing and becoming a body Corporate and Politic according to Law, notice of which meeting and Election having been given by the Revd. Mich'l McNamara, R. C. Pastor of the said congregation fifteen days prior thereto, and also on two successive Sabbaths in the said Church preceeding the said meeting and Election. We do furthermore certify that the said congregation did then and there Resolve, That Easter Monday in each and every Year should be the day permanently fixed for the Annual Election of the Trustees that might henceforward become legally necessary to be elected for the said congregation. And that the Trustees of

St. Patrick's Church, Rochester, Monroe County, was adopted by the said Congregation as the incorporated name Style and Title whereby the said Incorporation and their Successors forever hereafter are to be known and distinguished in fact and in Law. Given under our hands and seals in Rochester this 20th day of April One Thousand Eight hundred and twenty-nine.

Prest.—PATRICK DALY
JOHN LYNCH
WILLIAM TONE (L. S.)
ROBERT ELLIOTT (L. S.)
Inspectors.[50]

The nine trustees were divided into three classes by lot, the first class was to hold office for one year, the second for two years, and the third class for three years, so that each year three trustees were to be elected while six of the old trustees remained in office.[51] The Board of Trustees elected its own officers each year, namely a President, Treasurer, and Secretary.[52] The first Trustees of the newly incorporated Church hired a Sexton at $50 a year, who also received the office of Collector at five percent of the revenue he secured. Later it was stipulated that "such Sexton shall be approved by the pastor."[53] Both the Treasurer and the Sexton had to give bonds, and obtain two bondsmen to furnish security for the faithful discharge of their trust.[54]

When the term of office expired or a vacancy occurred in the Board of Trustees, "the Pastor or, (in case of his absence, sickness, or death), the President of the Board", legally notified by the trustees, was "to call meetings of the Electors for the purpose of filling any such vacancies . . . at least fifteen days previous to said Elections and also from the altar on the two Sabbaths included in said fifteen days."[55] The State Law determined the qualifications of the Electors in its provision "That the names of the persons belonging to the said Church who are Contributors thereto, according to the usages and customs thereof, and who are regular stated hearers or worshippers therein for twelve months at least previous to every election held therein subsequent to the organization of the said Church as an Incorporated Body, should be kept in a Book prepared for that purpose with the date therein mentioned that every Worshipper applied for that purpose. And that Book so kept shall be the only test of the Qualification of Voters at every subsequent Election in case the vote of any Elector should be Challenged."[56] The Trustees decreed be-

sides that only male members of full age, whose pew rent was paid up to date or who, if they were not pewholders annually gave four dollars to the Church, were to be admitted to vote.[57] This last qualification had to be added as there was room for only four in a pew.

Very soon after its organization, the Board of Trustees "resolved that the regular Meeting of the Trustees be held on the first Monday every month, having found from experience that the Meeting on Sunday too often Interrupted the Pastor in the performance of his religious duties."[58] Later the regular meetings of the Board were again "held on the first Sunday of every month, immediately after the last service of the day, or in default of such service at such time as the president may from time to time direct."[59] All the meetings, whether annual, regular, or special, were to "be held at the Church or other place of worship—and any meeting held at any other place" was "deemed illegal."[60] Whatever was transacted at these meetings, was not open to indiscriminate publication. This is revealed by a resolution adopted by the Board of Trustees, January 7, 1830:

> Resolved That any person or persons, member or members of the Board of Trustees of the Roman Catholic Church of Rochester [who] do Enlarge or speak of any of the Acts, Resolutions or parts pertaining thereto to any person or persons that is not a Member of said Board, for such offence or offences, He or they shall forfeit and pay a sum not exceeding $5, nor less than $3 (current money of this state) to the Treasurer of Said Board of Trustees, for which the said Treasurer is to account for in his returns of the General a/cs of the Church funds.
>
> And that this Act by the decision of this incorporated Board be in full force until the 12th day of April, 1830—And to continue, if not amended, until the 23d. of April, 1832.
>
> It is to be understood that it is the duty of a Trustee, on being asked by any one of the Congregation in what Situation the Church funds or accounts are, to direct sd. person or persons to the Secretary of the Board, whose duty it is to Shew all the a/cs of the Church, Acts, Resolutions, Documents, or any notes or old Accounts that may be in his Charge, belonging to the Church, to any one of the Congregation and explain to said person or persons each particular part, if required.

The resolution was apparently calculated to close the mouth of any malcontent trustee, while the members of the congregation were free to inquire into the administration of

the parish by the trustees in the manner prescribed. Later the Board of Trustees thought it advisable to resolve "that no member of this Board will give an answer to any enquiries made by any member of the Board respecting business transacted or contracts made in sd. Board except at their meetings, inasmuch as each person belonging to the board is supposed to attend their meetings."[61] There were delinquents among the trustees of whom enquiries had to be made "whether they are willing to perform their duties as Trustees of this Church inasmuch as they have not attended to their official duties for several meetings."[62] Against such as these a law was finally enacted that "any person duly elected a member of the Board who shall refuse or neglect to attend the meetings of the same or to perform the duties duly assigned him during the term of 3 successive months shall be considered as having resigned his situation in the Board, and a new election shall be held to fill the vacancy."[63]

The duties incumbent upon the Trustees in the ordinary management of church affairs were finally distributed among three committees, each composed of three members. The Auditing Committee was to investigate and collect debts and audit accounts; the Collecting Committee was to collect contributions at Church; and the Committee of Arrangements was to attend to the place of worship, "that it shall be in proper order—to place pewholders in their proper places & finally to arrange all internal matters of the Church to the promotion of the Greater decency of divine worship."[64] Before such a division of labor was accomplished, various persons received special powers from the Board of Trustees, as the circumstances seemed to require. Thus July 6, 1829, it was "resolved that the President and Secretary be authorized to write to persons who are in the habit of Mocking and laughing during divine Service of Sunday."[65] Later January 6, 1830, the Trustees "resolved that a large Armchair be purchased by Richd Story, pannelled Bottom &c. for the use of the Reverend Clergy . . . . Said Chair to be always fixed in the Sanctuary." On the same day Mr. Hatch, the Sexton, was "authorized to purchase Wine & Candles by the large Quantity —vzt Wine by the Gallon—Candles by the Box." To obtain the wine in this bulk, the Sexton later was "authorized to pur-

chase a demijohn."[66] Again a trustee was commissioned to buy linen necessary to make "communion cloths in front of the Altar &c."[67]

The Board of Trustees was thus organized to take complete charge of the management of the Church, leaving nothing to the Pastor but religious duties, except when he was made the spokesman of the Board of Trustees to the Congregation, or when his services were required by them to raise money, &c. To help along financially, the trustees even appealed to Bishop Dubois, who had been informed by them of their organization,[68] to "make some arrangements to cause those persons to pay something towards paying the Clergyman's Salary &c., who never take a Pew, and many of whom can afford to do so."[69] Bishop Dubois was also requested to force "those People, who have subscribed before, to pay for the enlargement of this Church and decline subscribing now, or to know the reason of Such Drawback."[70] As money was scarce, the Trustees were inclined to cut the Pastor's salary. In fact, January 7, 1830, they sent two of their number to him to discover "if he would have his Salary reduced to $400 for this year." Nevertheless, it was the expressed "understanding and intention of the Board to pay the Revd. Mr. McNamara 600 Dollars, if the Church funds of this Year's Pewrents could be collected in Cash to that amount." The answer of the Pastor was reported to the Board, January 28, 1830: "The Revd. Mr. McNamara says that, if the Church funds would not amount to $600, he would be satisfied to receive any amount less than the salary appointed for him by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Deboise, and explained himself in saying that, if the Congregation wanted $100, $200, or 300 Dollars of the Salary appointed for him, he would feel satisfied—providing that the Trustees would make proper exertions in collecting the Pewrents from the Congregation for that and other purposes." Though Father McNamara was most accommodating in this matter, the Trustees really had no authority in law to cut his salary. The State laws decreed that the Salary of the Clergy shall be settled by the Electors;[71] the Congregation, September 1828, had voted the Pastor $600 a year on the recommendation of Bishop Dubois. When the trustees, therefore, recognized, January 16, 1832, that "no other legal regulations have been since that time entered into," they decided to "pay

him from first January, 1830, until first January, 1832, at that rate, the faith of the Board having been pledged to that effect." According to the treasurer's report submitted the next day, $668.42 were paid to Father McNamara from January 1, 1830, to January 1, 1832, leaving a balance of $531.58 still due. Of this the Pastor subscribed $100 towards the new Church, and a note signed by the President and Secretary of the Board was given him for the remainder.[72]

Chapter II

EARLY ANTI-CATHOLIC OUTBREAKS

During the pastorate of Father McNamara, an important event in Europe also had its echo in Rochester. Catholic Emancipation passed through Parliament and received the royal assent, April 13, 1829. To thank God for this, a *Te Deum* was sung, Sunday June 21, 1829, in every Church of the Diocese by order of Bishop Dubois.[1] The event was duly emphasized in the advertisement of the first festival of St. Patrick following it. "This Festival will be celebrated in the customary style by the Natives and Friends of Ireland in Rochester and its vicinity. Recent events have enhanced the interest of this National Celebration. The past year has been signalized by the emancipation of millions. The cause of Erin—of Freedom—of Humanity has triumphed under the Premiership of the Irish Wellington. Patriotism and Philanthropy rejoice in the progress of Civil and Religious Liberty!" The celebration was held at the Rochester House, where arrangements were made for a supper in its handsomely decorated Hall, enlivened by a Band of Music with the melodies of Columbia and Hibernia. The officers chosen for the occasion were Elisha Johnson, President; John Gilbert, Wm. Tone, Henry O'Reilly, Hester Stevens, and John Walsh, Vice-Presidents; Wm. Cochrane, Nicholas Read, John O'Donoghue, Peter Lynch, and J. Sheridan, Stewards.[2] Numerous speeches were made during the celebration, and well merited praise in unstinted measure was given to "Daniel O'Connell, the Liberator of Ireland—The Roman Catholic member of the British House of Commons." Dr. Fitzhugh of Mt. Morris spoke on "the Emancipation of Irish Catholics—a bloodless triumph over religious bigotry," and A. W. Stowe, Esq., paid the customary tribute of the time to the last living signer of the Declaration of Independence in his speech on "Chas. Carroll of Carrollton—A noble monument of American patriotism, Irish liberality, & Catholic piety."[3]

There is no mention made of Father McNamara in the festivities, and it is quite possible that he was absent from Rochester at the time, as his name repeatedly appears in the next year's celebration. Then the Irish Volunteers, after the parade in the morning, repaired to the Catholic Chapel, where divine service was performed and the anniversary sermon delivered by the Rev. Michael McNamara. In the evening, there was a dinner at the Eagle Tavern, with a band of music in attendance.[4] The advertisement had announced significantly that "in accordance with the prevailing public opinion, ardent spirits will be entirely excluded from the table, and their places supplied by the more generous juice of the grape." No doubt this was duly observed at the Dinner, which the Committee of Arrangements, P. O'Mealy, John Sheridan, Robert Elliott, and J. O'Donoghue, had prepared. Hestor Stevens was again President, and Nicholas Read, John D. Walsh, Patrick Kavanagh, and William Tone were Vice-Presidents.[5] This time the Rev. Mr. McNamara officiated as Chaplain. He did not stay to the end of the banquet, and a delicate compliment was paid him after he retired, in a volunteer toast from the Chair: "The Rev. Michael McNamara. The mild, but firm representative of the religion of his country—respected for his kindness to the poor, and revered for the purity of his life as a minister of the Gospel." Other volunteer toasts followed, expressive of sentiments dear to the Catholic heart. Thus William Tone proposed "Liberty of Conscience. What God gives, let no man dare to withhold from any."; A. W. Stowe, Esq.,: "The memory of Lord Baltimore, the founder of Maryland. An Irishman and a Catholic, and the first Christian Lawgiver who provided for the rights of conscience and religious liberty."; Dr. Marsh: "The Catholic Church. Tho' assailed by those who should be the *first* and the last to defend, her fortress remains impregnable, founded upon that rock which abideth."; John Sherman: "The Harp of Erin—May it soon play the Dirge over Priestcraft and Bigotry which now reign in unhappy Ireland."; and finally E. Avery of Greece: "Irishmen in America. May they continue to be firm supporters of equal rights, and may they duly appreciate our civil and religious liberties in this 'land of the free and home of the brave.' "[6]

The allusion to Priestcraft and Bigotry in one of the volunteer toasts had already found expression before in one of the Regular Toasts: "The Press. May it be like the air we breathe—free and uncontaminated, either by tyranny, priestcraft, or fanaticism."[7] Precisely in these years, violent attacks of the most outrageous character were made upon Catholicism, especially in some of the Protestant religious papers. Even the Episcopalians seemed to have suffered attack because of their closer resemblance to Catholics than any other Protestant sect. This appears from a curious postscript to a pamphlet by Henry U. Onderdonck, Rector of St. John's Church, Canandaigua, and printed at that town as early as 1816 under the title: *"An Appeal to the Religious Public in Behalf of the Protestant Episcopal Church against the Slanders and Sophistry Printed under the name of the Rev. W. Bacon: Together with Three Dissertations on Regeneration, The Ministry, and the Pretended Calvinism of the XXXIX Articles."* The Postscript gives the following admonition: "It is possible that this pamphlet may find its way to the hands of some who know personally nothing of the Episcopal Church, but who hear it stigmatized as *popish:* some hear it ingeniously called the *'second order of Roman Catholics!'*— Let such dare to think for themselves. Let them ask of our accusers to say on their conscience, and as in the presence of God whom they profess to serve—whether they *actually* believe the episcopal church to resemble, in any important, in any unscriptural matter, the church of Rome. Nine out of ten of these declaimers will (no doubt) find their moral principle too strong to answer in the affirmative." While there is, no doubt, an essential difference between the Episcopal Protestant Church and the Catholic Church, yet Catholics at Rochester were pleased to testify to the good relations existing between themselves and the Congregation of St. Luke's Church, at the time of the departure of the Episcopalian pastor, the Rev. F. H. Cumings, to whom the following letter was written:

> Rev. and dear Sir: The trustees of the Roman Catholic church of Rochester, having learned your intention to resign your charge and leave the village, avail themselves of this opportunity to express their regret at the intelligence.
>
> Freed from the thralls of bigotry and the promptings of intol-

erance, your mission has been characterized by a laudable liberality. You seemed to regulate your life by those principles of true charity which ennoble the man, and dignify the christian. You cultivated those feelings so consonant with the spirit of the gospel; and while you forcibly inculcated your own tenets, you respected the conscientious opinions of others. The members of your congregation, too, participated so largely with you in this christian spirit, that we take pleasure in declaring that we have been exempt from all undue interference on their part in our religious concerns. To you, sir, we chiefly attribute that peace and good will which prevailed with you. To you are we particularly indebted for those offices of kindness which adorn the christian character; and these give you lasting claim on our respect and gratitude. Suffer us, therefore, reverend and dear Sir, to mingle our regret with those of your parishioners at parting with you; and to pray that wherever duty or inclination may lead you, you may enjoy largely the blessing of this, and reap the fruition of your christian labors in another and better World.

With sentiments of sincere respect, we remain, dear sir, your obedient servants,

WILLIAM TONE, president,
ROBERT ELLIOTT, secretary
in behalf of the trustees.[8]

The reply of the Reverend F. H. Cumings was not less cordial in tone. He wrote Father McNamara, Rochester, May 11, 1829:

Rev. and dear Sir: I have this day received, through your hands, a letter from the Roman Catholic trustees of Rochester, informing me of the resolution they were pleased to pass in reference to my contemplated removal from this place. I beg you, my dear sir, to accept for yourself, and convey to the board whom you represent, my unfeigned thanks for the interest you have expressed in my welfare. I hope I may be permitted to say, without any affected humility, that I wish I merited the encomiums passed upon me by your board of trustees. May I ask an interest in your prayers, that I may be what your kind, but too partial opinion of me has represented me to be. Be assured of my best wishes for the interest of yourself personally, for your board of trustees, and the society of which you are the pastor. Long, dear sir, may your services be spared to your people, and be most largely blessed to them: and may we all at length find ourselves gathered into our divine master, Jesus Christ's heavenly fold.

Truly yours,
F. H. CUMINGS.[9]

This evidence of good will is all the more noteworthy at a time when Catholic feelings were little respected even in

issues that were agitated wholly outside of Catholic circles. An example might be cited in the controversy over the observance of the Sabbath, which the Commandments of the Catholic Church carefully inculcated, without, however, going to the extremes of Puritanism. Yet the Catholic Church was maligned because of the endeavors made by others to stop the Sunday operation of stages and canal boats, the public carriers of the time, and to abolish Sunday mails. Proof of this is found in a letter printed in *The Rochester Album*, February 26, 1828, as a protest against a convention held at Auburn, February 13, 1828, that had resolved to establish lines of Sabbath-keeping stages, when the principal stage proprietors refused to discontinue running their stages on Sunday.

TO THE ELECT ELDERS OF ROCHESTER, IN THAT PART OF THE UNITED STATES CALLED NEW YORK

Dearly Beloved Children:—We have seen with great satisfaction the good things ye have begun to do. Your "Solemn League and Covenant" has been laid before us; it meets our entire and full satisfaction so far as it goes. We are sensible that the time has arrived when strong and coercive measures may be resorted to without fear from the secular power. Our church has been laboring for a long time under the severe censure of popular opinion. Power and wealth have of late been placed in our hands:—we must not neglect to use them. If infidels oppose themselves to our opinion, we can show them our Holy Inquisition; we are now sufficiently powerful to set their threats at defiance and compel them by our power inquisitorial to know what we do is right.—What you have done is very well; it is a good beginning, but let us hear further from you. You must take the public conveyances into your hands. You must not deal at all with unbelievers; and if they murmur at your doings, send in their names to us, and we will use our holy rack, our thumb screws, our Iron Bed, and many other such arguments, by which we shall no doubt convince them of their damnable heresies; for our love to mankind is such that we will not suffer them to depart from the rule of our infallibility, while we have such power and arguments to convince and compel obedience. Tho' separated from you by seas and lands, we shall always hail such auspicious dawnings, and support you with the whole weight of our authority. We soon hope to see raised up among you, if you have them not already, such *good, pious, meek*, and charitable men as Bishop *Bonner, Laud*, and others during the glorious reign of our beloved and pious daughter, Mary of England; then we may look to the eradication of heresy. Then indeed will the church be again purified and Scismaticks punished.

For many years past we had great fear for the purity of your faith; but your late doings have satisfied us that, if ye have been wavering, ye are now firm; that ye will redeem your character which has been obscured since the days of that arch-heretick Luther, who made us so much trouble; whose punishment we hope has been great and may be increased without *measure:*—may fiends and devils howl about him: may he be roasted in Sulphur, "In steep down gulps of liquid fire", who hath so much afflicted the Saints.

The brethren of our holy consistory greet you. Done at the Palace of the Vatican, in our Holy Cathedral of St. Peter at Rome, Anno Jesu Christi, 1828, and of February the 13th day, being the 3d year of our Pontificate. LEO. XII.

This curious document was fiction, though distasteful enough to Catholics even when directed against some one else. Besides, it was only a step from this kind of literature to calumny and slander, especially in credulous and hostile circles, and the Presbyterian organ in Rochester, under the editorship of Chipman and Loomis, had no difficulty in making the step. These men undertook a campaign of vilification, of which it is difficult to estimate the effect upon their readers, but it is a fact that the Congregation and Trustees of St. Patrick's Church, at a meeting held in the Church on Monday, March 8, 1830, found it necessary to advertise the public to the following effect:

Whereas some person or persons feloniously broke open and entered the Roman Catholic Church of Rochester and the Vestry Room attached thereto on the night of the 7th inst., and maliciously damaged several articles belonging to the said Church;

Notice is hereby given that any person, who may give such information within one month from date hereof as will lead to the conviction by law of the person or persons who committed this nefarious act, will be paid a reward of Fifty Dollars on application, after the said conviction, to Mr. John Sheridan, Treasurer of said Church.[10]

The commission of the outrage naturally had no effect upon the editors of the *Rochester Observer,* and the Pastor of St. Patrick's Church sent a communication, in protest against their abuse of Catholicism, to the *Rochester Daily Advertiser and Telegraph,* where it appeared March 25, 1830.

I caution the public, (and particularly the community of Rochester), against taking the extracts which appear in the newspaper called the *Rochester Observer,* as the tenets of the Catholic Religion. They are an insult to every refined feeling. They are prejudicial to

the happy peace which prevails among all denominations of religion in this village; and they are such an atrocious outrage on the religious principles of Catholics, who form so great a portion of our citizens, that I indulge the hope that our fellow Christians and fellow citizens will discountenance the dissemination of such falsehood amongst them. The *mark of the beast*, which the R. Observer so ungenerously applies to Catholics, too clearly shows the cloven-footed bitterness it engenders, and which it would fain inoculate. Ah, if thou be christian, where is thy charity? If the Observer were anxious to publish the true principles of the Catholics, he could be occasionally supplied with an exposition and vindication of them. Catholics have abandoned home, country, friends, and every association that makes communion sweet, in order that they may be exempted from insult for adhering to the principles of the Gospel, and the maxims of our Divine Saviour, Jesus Christ. They had forfeited their property, wealth and the smiles of Royalty—nay life, sooner than surrender their faith, or rather than disregard the religious obligation of an oath, which violation would be sufficient for them to ascend to the highest honours earthly or kingly power could bestow. They would not do so, because they would sin against Heaven. They were, (as we are now), ignorant of the assertion, (or aspersion) of the R. Obs., that the Roman Catholic Church and her Pastors gave a license to their members to commit sin. They and we feel outraged and insulted at the aspersion. They came to the land of liberty—to America—to be exempt from insult for their religious belief, and to be suffered to adore God according to the best dictates of their conscience. What we ask for ourselves, we freely give to all others; and from our fellow citizens we look for that privilege, and hope that the good sense and the good feeling of the citizens of Rochester and of America in general will not sanction any publication that circulates calumny and odious impressions against them. There are some highly respectable families in the vicinity of this village, connected with an individual of that religion, in the fondest bonds of that feeling. There are others who have been intimately acquainted with some departed worth. These must clearly see the shocking insult to departed merit, friendship, and parental affection, and could testify that honour, honesty, truth, and integrity characterize a Catholic. These would be better authorities for the Christian and Rochester Observer than the elegant extracts he has circulated, stating the abominable doctrine of the permission to commit sin, and, therefore, to disregard every principle of honour, truth, and religion, and violate every bond that binds man to his fellow man, or man to his Creator and his God.

I shall terminate, hoping that, (if we cannot come to a perfect understanding in the mysteries of religion), peace, social feeling—the queen of virtues—may prevail among every denomination of fellow citizens and fellow christians among us.

MICHAEL M'NAMARA.
Roman Catholic Pastor, Rochester.

The Editors of the *Observer* stepped aside in the controversy, initiated by Father McNamara's communication, to make room in its columns for an anonymous writer, *"Republicus"*, who naturally professed to be innocent of the offences charged against the *Observer*, and adroitly tried to shuffle the burden of proof from the accusers to the accused, pretending at the same time to be an impartial judge, before the bar of public opinion, on the merits of the issues involved. Father McNamara thought it advisable to reply to this writer in the *Rochester Observer* itself, where his rejoinder was printed, April 16, 1830.

Messrs. Editors,—Having seen in your paper of Friday last an invitation to me to its columns to remove the aspersions so profusely heaped on the Catholic religion by your extracts and reports, I feel myself bound to acquiesce, and justified to step aside from that retirement connected with my situation in life, in order to remove from religion's dishonoured brow the stains which your extracts are calculated to affix to her. I hope you will do me the justice to give the community the observations made by me in the Rochester D. Advertiser.

This necessity arises from the distortion and perversion of my observations and sentiments effected in your paper, under the fictitious name of 'Republicus', which have been so highly complimented by you. Your paper—alluding to my observations—states: "The remainder of your article, if we understand it, is retaliation on the Observer of the alleged injuries, where *you speak* of the *mark* of the Beast and the cloven-footed bitterness it engenders, and which it would fain inculcate."

Any ordinary capacity or person reading this passage, marked as it is, will suppose and take it to be mine—will take it as my conviction and sentiment, and thus I am held forth to the world, as affixing "the mark of the beast" to some class, or to all classes of believing dissenting christians, and thus prejudice any cause I may be called upon to espouse. If it were mine, I should be excluded from the common intercourse of life, were I to expose any portion of my fellow citizens or fellow christians to such public execration. The community cannot bring itself to think that any person or public paper could interlineate such an atrocious assertion, and hold it forth to the world as the conviction of my mind, when it was not mine. Yet such is the fact, and so far from its being mine, it was that very same uncharitable expression and extract of the Observer, "mark of the beast", which forced me to deviate from my habitual retirement, and to solicit the community "in patient words" not to join against so large a portion of believers in universal execration, and to give an impartial trial before judgment may be passed. Is not this common justice? And if so, why affix

to my name the ungenerous epithet I never made use of? But which is the offspring of the Observer itself. If perversion of language occurs under our own eyes and where they can so speedily be corrected, what reliance can the community place on assertions from the same quarter? . . . . .

Your "Republicus" makes assurance of affectionate embraces towards Catholicks, were they to prove themselves entitled to common sympathy, or worthy to live under equal laws, and you ask "if their principles of religion be dangerous to the constitution"—ask the surviving signer of the unfading Declaration of Independence, the rays of whose setting sun diffuses a halo of virtue in every circle of society in which he moves, and kindles in the heart of every aspirant to patriotism the purest flame of devotedness for American independence and liberty. Ask him his faith. It is the faith of the Catholick people, "the same yesterday, today, and forever." It is not fluctuating, for man cannot alter what God has declared to be true. You will complain of my giving names; you will complain if I give facts; and you will complain if I do not. "The tree is known by its fruits." If the Catholick religion inculcated unsafe principles and unsound doctrines, and the abominations you mention so often in your sanctified repository, it would be as difficult, as impossible to get a moral, virtuous individual in its society as to get a temperate man in the assembly of Bacchus or a chaste soul among the votaries of Venus. Can you expect grapes from thorns? Therefore, the religion of Catholicks must be good, when the members who live up to its doctrines and principles are virtuous and holy. These sanctified guardians of the "Republic", these non-commissioned officers of inquisitorial notoriety, (whose elegant extracts speak for themselves), appear on the beach to greet the bark of American Liberty, and dictate—division—for the preservation of peace and good will to mankind, forgetting that, thro' every peril and toil, Catholicks have been the uniform friends, the unbending supporters of American liberty. Ask the soldiers who fought by their side. Are the principles of Catholicks dangerous to the constitution? Now that we have entered the port of freedom, we are called upon to throw over board a large portion of the crew who guided us in safety through the storm. Catholick blood and treasure were freely shed and expended to cement the arch of American liberty, and to rescue the children of every clime and creed from the fangs of intolerance and the thraldom of persecution.

He is afraid of Catholick principles. He says he does not know them—these are his word: "You know, sir, that as a community we are not only not Catholicks, but are very much strangers to what Catholick principles are, or how they can bear upon the great interests of our country." Bless our stars, in what desert did he grow? The backwoods-man—the President seems to be in no way alarmed about that affair; and if you are not an officer, the merit of officiousness cannot be refused to you when you display a great sensibility on the occasion for the republic. The constitution seems

to have safeguards and safety valves to prevent an explosion, and ensure its durability. Article I, Amend. Con. declares—"That Congress shall make no law, respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." Either as a divine or a civilian, you may suspend all alarm on the score of religion. For it can exist independent of any religious forms of one portion of the people or the other. The days of fire and faggot are threatened to be restored under such mild legislation. But this system of intolerance will not receive the sanction of the enlightened portion of Americans; while they worship themselves conscientiously, they will not encourage the press to abuse and vilify their fellow citizens for doing as they do, to give unto Caesar what is Caesar's and to give unto God what is God's.

If you know nothing of the Catholick religion, by what illumination have you received the shining [light] of the spirit of meekness towards them by calling them Mass men, Papists, Mass House, mark of the beast, Popish, and the other elegant extracts, so insulting to any female who reads the paper, and so inflammatory to society. Nothwithstanding this tirade of abuse and invective against Catholicks, he says—Be gentle. Was ever gentleness less personified? Were ever provocations less called for? You claim our judgment, says he, in the case without proof or trial. In this you must excuse us, (what a pink of politeness!). This would be unjust; we must hear before we judge. Can there be any difficulty for an impartial public to see thro' the evasion—this web of imposition. I have merely solicited mercy, to abstain from derision or *ex parte* and prejudiced testimony; and he exclaims we cannot do so; you are out of order to make such a request; "we must be just". Let this public judge of this deception of justice, and they must arrive at a proper conclusion.

When I perceive a masked battery and a fictitious name in opposition to frankness and open dealing, the common rules of society require the underwriter or the assailant to give his name before the public, (in propria persona). And I shall not take further notice of this subject until he openly avows himself. And if he is a person of sufficient standing in the community to contend with, I shall freely give an exposition and vindication of the principles of the church to which I am conscientiously and firmly attached.

I remain &c., yours,

MICHAEL MCNAMARA,
Roman Catholick Pastor.

Rochester, April 7th, 1830.

This finished the controversy as far as Father McNamara was concerned, for his anonymous opponent refused to give his name. The editors of the *Observer* continued the abuse, printing all sorts of things to the discredit of Catholicism, without a shadow of evidence, or, at most, with a specious

perversion of the truth. Their critical faculties became so blunted that they did not even hesitate to print the following note to a description of the life inside the Jesuit College of Georgetown: "It is worth observing that what appears to be *candles* generally are tin tubes painted. Into these candles are put, and under them wires are coiled spirally. The wick comes out at the top through a small opening, and as the candle burns, the wire keeps it up, so that, after gazing for hours on the supposed candle and seeing no reduction of it by the flame, a superstitious person might suppose that a miracle alone could thus preserve it."[11] Today no one would think of insinuating such a sinister design in the employment of this useful device, but then prejudice and bigotry blinded many who were only too willing to believe anything injurious to the good name of the Catholic Church, no matter how ridiculous nor how malicious the invention.

The anonymous writer, "Republicus", who then contributed a series of three communications to the *Rochester Observer*, all addressed to the Rev. Michael McNamara, Roman Catholic Pastor, Rochester, maintained a more elevated tone, disclaiming all connection with the abusive epithets applied to Catholics in the columns of the Presbyterian paper. The old heresy laws, the index, the universal jurisdiction and infallibility of the Pope, the alleged hostility of Catholics to Bible-reading, communion in one kind, the veneration of Saints, the laws of celibacy and abstinence, all entered into his criticism of Catholicism, which was intended to show that the Catholic faith was not only false and erroneous, but incompatible with American Republicanism.[12] This could not be done but by a woeful confusion of religious and political issues, entirely alien to the mind of the Catholic community, whose Pastor was thus attacked as the representative exponent of Catholic teaching. After these communications, the anonymous "Republicus" subsided into silence till a Catholic, James Buchan, lost patience under the incessant attacks of the *Rochester Observer*. He published another protest against the slanders and misrepresentations of that paper in the *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, from which it was reprinted by the *United States Catholic Press*, July 30, 1831, as follows:

TO THE PUBLIC

I have read, with feelings of disgust and indignation, the tirade of abuse and calumny lately appearing in the Rochester Observer—and particularly in its last two numbers, against the Catholics of the union, which almost amount to a call upon the Legislature to enact the same penal statutes against the Catholics which till lately disgraced the English Statute Book; and that too from a sect who profess the Christian religion, (however little they may practice it,) a religion which breathes peace and good will to all men.—I am surprised that sentiments such as these contained in the Rochester Observer could be promulgated in the present enlightened state of society or entertained by any one who is a true Christian *or a true republican.*

But, thus it is always with bigotry: instead of making men mild, pious and devout Christians—instead of that charity which suffereth long and is kind, which envieth not, is not easily provoked and thinketh no evil; it engenders in their hearts every evil passion and uncharitable feeling, and breathes envy, hatred, malice and persecution towards their fellow beings.

I here fearlessly assert that every statement of these religious bigots inserted in the Observer to the prejudice of Catholics is totally untrue—and that every article they have published on the subject is a foul libel on the Catholic religion.

I have neither time nor inclination to enter into any newspaper controversy on the subject, but insert this Notice to the Public merely to state that if any *unprejudiced Christian* would wish to become acquainted with the real doctrines and tenets of the Catholic religion—the religion of five hundred thousand of their fellow citizens throughout the union—I will give them every necessary information on the subject by lending to them for their perusal works on the Catholic faith which I have in my possession, and which vindicate our pure and holy religion from the vile assertions and calumnies that a fanatical, unprincipled, and unchristian press may heap upon it.

Exchange St. Rochester. JAMES BUCHAN.

Not long after this letter appeared, "Republicus" again claimed to be able to demonstrate "that the Roman Catholic religion is hostile to our liberties, and calculated to keep its people in a condition of intellectual and moral degradation," offering at the same time, "if Mr. Buchan does not choose to remain blinded, to draw aside the veil, and show him how he himself has been cheated."[13] James Buchan indignantly replied, August 5, 1831, in a communication addressed to the Editor of the *Rochester Observer,* who had not allowed the matter to pass without comment.

Sir,—I observe in your paper of yesterday a communication under the signature of "Republicus", and also an article written by yourself, both commenting on a notice that I some weeks ago inserted in the *Rochester Daily Advertiser* in reference to the attacks made thro' the columns of your paper and otherwise on the Catholic religion and its followers.

It seems that this correspondent of yours, who is well known to be one of the Presbyterian clergymen of Rochester, under the specious name of "Republicus", and through the medium of your paper, addressed several letters last year to the Rev. Mr. McNamara, Catholic pastor in this village, endeavoring to prove to him, as he pretended, the errors of the Roman Catholic Church and the evil tendency of its doctrines; but in the present communication which he has made to you, I beg leave to say that your Rev. Correspondent is neither candid, nor just; for, in order to gloss over his own statement, and to make it appear that he was quite triumphant, and encountered no opposition, he asserts in the present communication what is not true; for he states that of these letters "the Rev. gentleman (that is Mr. McN'a), took no notice." And you too, Mr. Editor, chime in with your Rev. correspondent in the same statement, for you say in your article on the same subject that Mr. McNamara "shrunk from an examination of the merits of the question at issue." Now, Mr. Editor, you know the contrary to be the fact, and so does your correspondent. You both know, that, on the appearance of these letters, Mr. McNamara addressed a letter to you, which appeared in your paper, in which he stated that if the person who addressed these letters to him under the fictitious name of "Republicus" would declare his real name, he would answer them and show the falsity and absurdity of his statements; and this your Rev. correspondent refused to do;—and this you call "shrinking from an examination of the merits of the question at issue". In my humble opinion, nothing could be more correct than the conduct of Mr. McNamara in this matter, and nothing more cowardly and unprincipled than the conduct of your correspondent. He, under a fictitious name, attacked Mr. McNamara personally on the subject of his religion. His was not an address to the public on the subject of the Catholic religion, nor even a letter to you as Editor of the Observer, but letters addressed to a private individual, and being so, I maintain that he was bound by every principle of honor, when called upon, to come forward and declare to the public his real name, and his not doing so can only be attributed to his consciousness of the weakness of the cause he had espoused and his dreading the consequence of the most disgraceful defeat, that he would most undoubtedly have sustained. This is the natural conclusion to be drawn from such conduct. But, Mr. Editor, for a moment reverse the case, and let us suppose that Mr. McNamara, under some fictitious signature, should in the *United Catholic Press*, the *Truth Teller*, the *Catholic Sentinel*, or any other of the numerous and talented Catholic papers published throughout the Union, address

a series of letters to any distinguished Presbyterian clergyman of this village, such for instance as the Rev. Joseph Penney, D.D., or any other, shewing to him the many errors into which the Protestants have fallen, proving that their doctrines were contrary to revealed religion and abounding with absurdities, and that the Catholic was the only pure, undefiled religion which our Blessed Saviour taught us to follow; and suppose that, when called upon to declare his real name in order that his letters might be answered, Mr. McNamara refused, what would you say then: You would then indeed be entitled to say that the Catholics "shunned the light", and "shrunk from an examination of the merits of the question";—and I have no doubt that, in your usual style, you would heap upon them every sort of invective and abuse you were master of. But the Catholics do not shun the light like your correspondent, or fight the battles of their faith under a masked battery. There is not one individual Catholic who would not cheerfully come forward in his true name and character to defend his holy religion, when it was attacked, assured as he is of the firm and everlasting foundation on which his religious faith is built. The Catholics are too confident of the truth of their cause to resort to the same disgraceful means that are used by every unprincipled defamer of private character, by every literary blackguard or assassin, who pours poison into the public ear, while the hand that administers it is hid in obscurity, who stabs in the dark at the reputation of his unoffending victims, and makes his vile attacks more odious and disgusting by sheltering himself under the sacred liberty of the press, constituting it the vehicle of anonymous slander and calumny, and thus prostituting its high office, polluting its columns, and degrading its dignity.

Had Mr. McNamara imprudently answered these letters of "Republicus", he would have been placed on most unequal ground in the contest; in fact, he would have been fighting with a shadow who would vanish when he had discomfited him, and leave him in total darkness as to the religion, character, or reputation of him with whom he had maintained such a contest;—and besides, this correspondent of yours who is so much affraid of the light might under his assumed name make any assertion or throw out any imputation he chose with perfect security, whereas Mr. McNamara, as a known individual and as a minister of the church, would not only be responsible in his own private person for every statement he made, but would be considered by the public as the authorized defender of the Catholic Church. Now I will here appeal to the common sense of every honest man, if the conduct of your Rev. correspondent was honest, candid, or even christian-like conduct. He pretends to be the champion of Protestantism, and yet is ashamed to appear so to the world in his own true character. He is a christian minister, and yet before the world is ashamed to own his Lord, to defend his cause, and maintain the glory of his cross. He pretends to be a supporter and a vindicator of the liberties of his country, and yet in such a glorious cause—a cause whose supporters

are enrolled in the records of imperishable fame and glory—he is afraid that his name should be known, while under the wiley signature of "Republicus", he insiduously strikes at the root of every free and republican form of government, and would fain bring back to disgrace our happy country, the intolerance of past ages when persecution and torture, the fire, and the faggot were the weapons which such religious bigots were authorized to wield. And yet after all this, Mr. Editor, you say: "Republicus will, we have no doubt, give fair play." If we are allowed to judge from his previous conduct and his present communication to you, we would be very sceptical on that point. But I shall soon put his "fair play" to test.

Your correspondent very politely undertakes, if I do not choose to remain blinded, as he says, to "draw aside the *veil* and show me how I have been cheated into the good opinion I entertain" of my religion. Now I will not be behind in politeness with the Rev. gentleman, and I here undertake, unlearned and unlettered as I am, if he will cast aside the thick mantle in which he thinks he has shrouded his personal identity, I shall then endeavor to throw aside the thicker mantle of prejudice and bigotry in which his reason seems enveloped; and if his mind is not altogether impervious to reason—if as Shakespeare says,

"If it be made of penetrable stuff,
"If damned custom have not braz'd it so,
"That it be proof and bulwark against sense,"

I shall undertake, to use the learned gentleman's own phraseology, to show him how he has been "cheated into so good an opinion of his religion", and still further I will show him how he has been "cheated" into so bad an .opinion of mine. And as a preliminary to this, I beg to put a few queries to you and also to your correspondent, which latter, I presume, you will have in your power to forward to him to answer in your next paper, as, from his addressing you, "Dear Sir", I suppose you are on intimate footing with one another. He has ample time to make up his mind on the subject previous to the publication of your next paper. For my part, I have lost no time in replying to your correspondent's letter. I received your paper, which was published yesterday forenoon, only last night.

In the first place then, you invite me in the article you have published to come forward and "investigate the merits of the question," and hope that I will not decline the invitation which you say I have "so vauntingly challenged". Now am I to understand from this that your paper is to be open to discussion on the subject, and that I am to be allowed to publish a reply in your columns to any article that your correspondent may publish in his real name? This I think an almost unnecessary question, as I cannot believe that you mean that I am to be at the expense of publishing anything I may write in answer to your correspondent as an advertisement, as I did my last notice, while your columns are open to your correspondent *gratis*.

In the next place, will your correspondent declare his real name to the public, and thus put himself on the same footing with his antagonist, and thus at the same time give weight and responsibility to whatsoever he may advance, or will he avow his being a clergyman of the Presbyterian church. If he does either of them, I am ready, but not otherwise.

In the third place, supposing your correspondent agrees to either of these, the next question is, in what shape should this controversy commence. The letters which your correspondent addressed to Mr. McNamara, and which, I suppose, consisted chiefly of attacks on the Catholic religion, I have not in my possession, nor do I recollect much about them, having paid little attention to them at the time. But at any rate, as these letters are addressed to a private individual, I would feel a little delicacy in taking upon me to answer them. I, therefore, request that your correspondent will, through the medium of your paper, throw into some other form those statements and arguments of his by which, he says, he will be able to "demonstrate that the Roman Catholic religion is hostile to our liberties and calculated to keep its people in a condition of intellectual and moral degradation."

If your correspondent will comply with my demands as to his real name, and you will forward this discussion by allowing both sides of the question to be stated in the columns of your paper, I have only to express a hope that the controversy will be conducted with fairness, impartiality, coolness, and candor. I am not aware that in the present communication I have used any harshness towards you and your correspondent, but if I had, it would have been perfectuly excusable and authorized by the conduct of you and your correspondent.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

JAMES BUCHAN.[14]

The rejoinder from "Republicus" is wholly devoted to a defence of his conduct in addressing his letters to Father McNamara and in concealing his identity, which he refused to make known as immaterial to the case.[15] Mr. Chipman, now the sole editor of the *Rochester Observer*, offered to print any communications from Mr. James Buchan, provided they were not "indecently personal nor more than a column in length".[16] Though the pages of the *Rochester Observer* bristled with "indecent" abuse of Catholicism, the editor pronounced the next communication from Mr. Buchan "indecently personal" and refused to print it.[17] Mr. Buchan then took it to the office of the *Daily Advertiser*. The article was set up in type there, and remained so for a week, but the editors of that paper finally refused to publish it in their

columns, even as an advertisement, first also on the plea that it was "too indecently personal", and when this was thought too harsh, on the plea that the letter was not warranted by any previous publication.[18] Mr. Buchan suspected Presbyterian influences at work in this, but the editors later denied this, declaring that "several of that denomination urged us strongly to publish it".[19] This statement was supported by the Editor of the *Rochester Observer* who declared that he "offered to defray part of the expense; and another prominent and wealthy Presbyterian offered to pay his proportion".[20] There was, however, no need of going further than this when the following letter was received:

> To the Editor of the Observer, Sir,
>
> I beg to inform you that my letter in answer to "Republicus" which you so unjustifiably refused to publish, is presently in course of being printed along with the previous letters in the shape of a pamphlet, which will be circulated this week *gratis*. I shall there, among other things, show the domineering and tyrannical spirit of a party of Presbyterians in this place, and the undue influence attempted to be exercised by them over the public press.
>
> I am, Sir,
> Your obedient servant,
> JAMES BUCHAN.
>
> Rochester, August 29, 1831.[21]

The pamphlet, if really printed, has not come down to us, but Mr. Buchan's second letter to the Editor of the *Rochester Observer* has been preserved in the columns of the *United States Catholic Press*, where it was published, September 24, 1831, as follows:

> Sir,—I have read the letter of "Republicus" in your last paper, (which you call a *reply* to my letter), with surprise and disgust; surprise, that one, who, I have always been told, was a man who pretended to learning and great scientific knowledge, should so demean himself as to become the author of such a silly, ridiculous, and sophistical production as the present, containing low attempts at wit, without meaning and without point, and arguments, if indeed they can be honored with such a name, which every man of common sense must at once see the futility of; a production, in fact, which the veriest school-boy would be ashamed of; and with disgust, to see a clergyman so degrade his character and holy office by such an indecent production as his present letter. It must necessarily give every one, who has read it, a very bad opinion of his principles.

I would earnestly beg to recommend to the Reverend Gentleman's perusal the elegant letter of his Reverend brother, Mr. Eddy of Canandaigua, (which immediately follows his own in your last paper), on the "necessity in the present age of a thoroughly enlightened and educated ministry", for your Reverend correspondent is a woeful example to the contrary; and I would also, at the same time, beg the Reverend gentleman to contrast his conduct with that of Mr. Eddy, who, when communicating his notions on the subject of religion to the public, seeks not the protection of an anonymous communication, but, like a true minister of Christ, comes forward in his real name and character. But the reasons of your correspondent's anxiety to preserve his incognito are too obvious, too palpable, not at once to be perceived. Truth is powerful and will prevail. He knows, notwithstanding all his blustering, that the Catholics have truth upon their side, and he knows that it is impossible for him to establish his propositions by honest arguments. Your Reverend correspondent is quite right, indeed, when he compares my attack on him to Don Quixotte's attack on the wind-mill; for, at first, I really thought him capable of holding an argument, but I now find I have been mistaken, and I perceive that he is only capable of producing wind, or words without meaning.

Your Reverend correspondent's letter I consider almost unworthy an answer, I appeal to the public whether he has answered my letter in any one particular. He refuses to avow his name or his clerical profession, without stating a single reason for it. But the Reverend gentleman is mistaken if he thinks that the author of the letters of "Republicus" is as yet unknown to the public. I believe the greater proportion of the inhabitants of this village are as certain who the author is as if he had put his real name to the letters; and the finger of scorn ought ever after this to be pointed at him as the promulgator of doctrines which he does not practice. I shall not, however, humor the Reverend gentleman by coming out as a butt for the Reverend gentleman to shoot his poisoned arrows at from behind the odious covert he has chosen for himself; but never venture after this, Mr. Editor, to say that "the Catholics shun the light", or "shrink from an examination of the merits of the question."

You, Mr. Editor, in your previous paper, state, as a condition of the insertion of my letters on this subject in your paper, that they must not be indecently personal. You need not be afraid, Sir, for I can assure you, I know nothing and wish to know nothing of *your* personal character and conduct and have no wish, however indefensible they may be, of attacking them. Our cause requires not the weapons of scurrility and abuse, which your Reverend correspondent appears so dexterously to handle. If you spoke for your Reverend correspondent as well as for yourself, you had perhaps more occasion for insisting on such a condition. But your correspondent need not be afraid. Although I might be perfectly justified in resorting to personalities, as he has endeavored to do

in his present letter, I do not wish to return evil for evil or adopt so undignified a course as he has taken; and I despise the vile insinuations which your Rev. correspondent throws out against my private character in the first part of his letter. He knows perfectly well that my character is far above such imputations.

If I applied the words "literary blackguard and assassin" to the wonders of private character in anonymous communications through the press, (and where is the man, except your *Reverend* correspondent, who dares to say that they ought to be viewed in another light?), I think I would now be justified in applying the same terms to your Reverend correspondent since in his present letter he has so well imitated the conduct of such unprincipled persons. But I cannot help admiring the dexterity of your correspondent in endeavoring to twist the plain meaning of a sentence in my last letter in order to make it answer his own purpose. I have explained how I used the terms, "literary blackguard and assassin", which in fact are scarcely strong enough expressions in speaking of the miscreants to whom I alluded, and as the word "coward", which your Reverend correspondent pretends to quote from my letter, there is no such word in it.

Now, he tells us, in the profundity of his erudition and researches that *such was the language used in the ancient tournaments and that to use it is foreign to our duties and habits as republicans!* Oh, ancient chivalry, of which poets have sung and good men have praised, how art thou belied by this thick-skulled son of Calvin, when he bestows upon thy highminded knights, who went forth to fight in the cause of injured innocence, of the oppressed and defenceless, the same epithet that we apply to the bandit or bravo! Our ancestors must have had a very different meaning attached to the words if they did so apply them:—but what is more new and extraordinary still, he tells us that "prize-fighting, public boxing, and cock-fighting" are the "*modern substitutes*" for the ancient tournament, and that in these the same terms are used.

I should consider the terms, "literary blackguard and assassin", even there inapplicable; but though I have read something of ancient chivalry, I am totally unacquainted with what the Reverend gentleman calls its "modern substitutes", totally disapproving of them and never having witnessed one in my life. I shall, therefore, on this point, submit to his greater experience and knowledge of these modern substitutes, which he has doubtless gleaned among his few Presbyterian brethren in the Catholic country, from which he comes, at their fairs and merry-makings, which, I have no doubt, he regularly attended when there in a somewhat less elevated station than he is at present.

What a pity he did not, instead of "wasting his sweetness on our desert air", continue where he was, where there is such an excellent field for his labours—where there are nearly eight millions of his fellow-countrymen still in the bondage of the Catholic religion and remaining to be converted. What might not have been expected

from such a bold and learned champion of Protestant supremacy. How easily could he have convinced his countrymen that, in achieving their civil and religious freedom, they were, to use the learned gentleman's own words, "sinking themselves into a state of intellectual and moral degradation", and that the breaking of the evil chains, which bound them on account of their religion, was only the commencement of danger to their rights and liberties.

But your Reverend correspondent is a very inobtrusive and inoffensive man. He says he "prefers QUIETLY examining facts relating to the welfare of our country." Very *quietly* indeed! I have no doubt the Reverend gentleman finds it rather unpleasant to have his opinions opposed and scrutinized and should prefer that his anonymous publications should be listened to and believed as *quietly* as his Sunday orations are heard by his flock. Nay, I will exculpate the gentleman from any desire to have his opinions circulated farther than his own flock, and I verily believe all he wants is to be able quietly to gull them while they continue to fatten him.

As to the version of his letters to Mr. McNamara and Mr. McNamara's conduct in reference to them, I am sorry to say that the Reverend gentleman, as in his last letter, does not tell the truth. The facts were substantially as I have stated them in my first letter. But on this point I shall say nothing—I have nothing whatever to do with Mr. McNamara in this matter;—I merely state the fact, and for the truth refer to the file of the Rochester Observer itself.

I have now only to notice the noble argument of our Reverend correspondent by which he attempts to prove that anonymous writing is as good as any other, and illustrates his doctrine by comparing it to the case of a man finding a person murdered in a field and informing the proper magistrate of the fact. I had to read this part of your correspondent's letter several times over before I could comprehend the meaning of it or perceive its applicability, nor am I quite sure that I understand it yet. He comes forward with a proposition to "demonstrate that the Roman Catholic religion is hostile to our liberties and calculated to keep its people in a condition of intellectual and moral degradation," that is to say, that the religion of nearly the whole of his countrymen—of the greatest religious denomination in the Union—of enlightened France—of, in fact, nine-tenths of Christendom has such a tendency; and this he is to do in the same way as one, who, having seen a murdered body lying in a field, goes to inform a magistrate and asks him to come and inspect it. This illustration is so silly and ludicrous beyond everything, that it is beneath any one to take notice of it.

And now I have done with your Reverend correspondent, nor do I intend taking any further notice of him. He may, after this, circulate what calumnies against the Catholics he pleases under the name of "Republicus" or any other that may suit his fancy. He may call them "beasts", "idolators", and some other names rather

noxious to female delicacy which I do not choose to mention but which your correspondent and some of his sect are in the daily practice of using in their christian zeal and charity against their Catholic fellow citizens. But after this, if even his own sect shall give any credit to his assertions, they are greater fools than I take them to be.

You, Mr. Editor, I perceive have reprinted the Hon. Mr. Barnard's letters from Italy, and both you and your correspondent have triumphantly referred to them. I am grieved to see an American statesman attempt to palm such absurdities upon the public, as he has done in his last two letters. He must have a high opinion of their gullibility, if he thinks they can swallow such monstrous untruths. He goes to the continent of Europe and stays about two weeks in Italy, viewing everything he sees with the jaundiced eye of prejudice, and comes and tells, amongst other things, that the "great proportion of those who serve at the altar are infidels!" Indeed!—How did Mr. Barnard find out this during his short stay at Rome? Did the Catholic clergy come to him and tell him for his information that they were infidels;—or in that country, where he says the people are in religious bondage, are the priesthood or people allowed to promulgate such notions? After this let us no longer upbraid Captain Basil Hall, whom we have styled the modern Munchausen, when, after taking a hop, step, and jump through America, he tells the people of England that we are all becoming Unitarians, and that our adoption of such a religion is a natural consequence of the principles of our government. As little and much less could we suppose Captain Hall "to be influenced by bigotry or sectarian feeling" as the Hon. D. D. Barnard.

And now, Mr. Editor, as I think this is the last time I shall ever address you on this subject, let me advise you, (after this) just to let the Catholics alone. What earthly end have you or has your Reverend Correspondent in view in those repeated attacks on your Catholic fellow-citizens? Do you think you will be able to bring them under the same legal disabilities as their brethren were till lately in the mother country? Before you can do that, Mr. Editor, you must totally do away with the free and glorious constitution of our country; and you may as well attempt to move the world as to do this. But do you think, Mr. Editor, that by such abuse you will be able to make converts to the Protestant Faith? Oh, no, that is the wrong way to make converts, it only has a contrary effect. If you wish to reason with Catholics on the subject of their religion, you must speak to them in the christian spirit of meekness and charity; and when once you and your Reverend correspondent are imbued with such a spirit, I shall have some hopes of your becoming converts to our pure and holy religion.

Before I close, I have an apology to make to my Presbyterian fellow-citizens, whose opinions are somewhat different from yours, and who seem to have taken offence at the notice I inserted in the Daily Advertiser. Since I published that notice, it has been repre-

sented to me by several Presbyterians of this place that I acted improperly in supposing and publishing that the opinions and sentiments, expressed in your paper regarding the Catholics, were the opinions and sentiments of the whole Presbyterians here; for, although your paper pretends to be the organ of that religious denomination here, yet not the twentieth part of them approved of the attack made on their Catholic fellow-citizens through the medium of your paper. I certainly did not mean to convey the idea, however warmly I might have expressed myself, that I considered the attacks as emanating from and approved of by all the Presbyterians in this place. Indeed, I have not so bad an opinion of my fellow-citizens, and though I am aware that there are some of them that entertain the same opinions as you and your correspondent, yet they form a very insignificant portion of the whole body, I am, Sir,

Your obe't ser't,
JAS. BUCHAN.

All these things naturally had no effect whatsoever on the conduct of the *Rochester Observer* in printing its news anent the "operations of the beast", etc. The month of September, in which the letter appeared, also saw the beginning of a series of letters in the *Observer* in the style of the previous letters of "Republicus", but signed by the initials, J. F. The method of controversy followed in this kind of literature can be nicely illustrated by an example, which is but a type for many others. "J. F.", in his letter printed September 29, 1831, informs his readers that "papists are not content with Christ, the judge in Heaven, and the scriptures, the judge on earth, but like Israel they must have a visible God to go before them, if it be but a calf. Hear Belarmine in his own words—*De Pontifice,* Book 4, Chap. 5: 'If the Pope could or should so far err as to command the practice of vice and to forbid virtuous actions, the Church was bound to believe vices to be good, and virtues to be bad.' This is plain dealing, there is none that can misunderstand the authority of the Pope, when thus explained by one of the ablest advocates of the Roman Church."

It is true that Cardinal Bellarmin was one of the ablest advocates of the Church of Rome, but it is not true that Bellarmin taught that "the Church was bound to believe vices to be good and virtues to be bad", even on the authority of the Pope, for the simple reason that the Cardinal, in the passage cited, is proving that the Pope, in his decrees, cannot err in

his teaching on morals, good or bad in themselves. If he did thus err in his teaching on morals, Bellarmin says that he would necessarily also err in faith, in regard to which he had already established the pope's inerrancy. "For Catholic Faith," he says, "teaches that all virtue is good, that all vice is evil; but if the Pope should err by commanding vices or by prohibiting virtues, that is, by commanding some work that is truly vicious, but not manifestly vicious, or by prohibiting a work of virtue, but not manifestly a work of virtue, the Church would be bound to believe vices to be good and virtues evil, unless she were willing to sin against conscience. For in things doubtful, the Church is bound to acquiesce in the judgment of the supreme pontiff, and do what he commands, not do what he prohibits; and lest perchance she act against conscience, she is bound to believe what he commands is good, what he prohibits is evil." The conclusion is evident: "The supreme pontiff cannot err, not only in the decrees of faith, but also not in those things which are good and bad in themselves," and so the Church never could be taught by the Pope "to believe vices to be good and virtues to be bad." What Cardinal Bellarmin gives as a manifest absurdity or rather impossiblility is cited as his teaching in the garbled version of the text given by the writer in the *Rochester Observer.* Such methods were hardly calculated to make abiding converts to Protestantism from Catholic ranks. In fact, the *Gospel Messenger* of Auburn, New York, had given unwilling testimony to Protestant failure to hold a convert when it printed, for its own purposes, J. P. Carberry's notice to the Press:

> I am solemnly authorized and requested by Mary McGann of the town of Auburn and county of Cayuga, on the 13th day of June, 1831, in the presence of several witnesses with the Revd. Francis O'Donohoe, pastor of this district, to publish in any of the papers of this place that would be liberal enough to give it insertion, that she will forever abjure and renounce certain doctrines and opinions lately embraced by her through the agency and ministry of the Rev'd Mr. Finney, a Presbyterian minister nominally of this place. And I am also authorized to say that she feels contrition of heart and sincere regret that she became an apostate from the creed of her fore-fathers, and that she is preparing to be received again into that church which is called of all nations—I mean the Catholic church.[22]

Chapter III
INTERNAL TROUBLE

There was only one reason for dishonest tactics such as practiced by the *Rochester Observer*, namely the remarkable increase of Catholics throughout the United States at the time, or, as "J. F." puts it, "the spread of Popery and the indefatigable zeal of its deluded advocates."[1] The increase was also manifest in Rochester. As early as June 20, 1828, there was advertised "for sale the lot in Platt-street in this village, on which the Roman Catholic Church is erected, together with the Church itself. The lot is 70 feet in front and 120 feet in depth, and the ground, being elevated, is a highly desirable situation for private dwellings, or a public building, it fronting on two streets. The reason for disposing of it is that, in consequence of the great increase of the congregation, the Church is entirely too small for their accommodation, which obliges the trustees to purchase another lot, considerably larger, and to build a new Church thereon."[2] Nevertheless, the property was not sold. The new set of trustees, elected at the time of the legal incorporation of the Church, undertook to pull down the old church and erect a new and larger one in its place, though at the beginning they only intended to enlarge the old edifice. July 6, 1829, the trustees "resolved that the Right Rev. Dr. Dubois be requested his permission to allow our Pastor, the Rev. Mr. McNamara to absent himself a few Sundays to collect for the enlargement of this Church, and a letter of recommendation to that effect." Finally, August 31, 1829, William Tone was hired, with his team of horses and waggon, for Sixty Dollars, to spend twenty-five days on a collecting tour to and from Pennsylvania with Father McNamara.[3] The next month, "at a meeting of the trustees and committee appointed by the Roman Catholic congregation of Rochester, held in their church, the Rev. Michael M'Namara was called to the chair, and P. John M'Namara appointed Secretary. The following resolutions were passed:

Resolved, That our Pastor be, and he is hereby requested to wait on such gentlemen of this village as he may designate, in order to accompany him in soliciting subscriptions for the building of a new Catholic church in this village, (the present one being entirely too small), from the benevolent of every religious denomination.

Resolved, That, relying on the liberality of our fellowcitizens, we fondly indulge the hope that they will cheerfully aid us on this most praiseworthy occasion.

Donations for this purpose will be thankfully received by the following persons: Henry O'Reilly, John D. Walsh, E. M. Cahill, Wm. Tone, J. Sheridan, James Carroll, Dennis Brady, Robert Elliott, Peter Lynch, Patrick McChristian, Charles O'Donnell, Wm. Fowler, Edward Kelly, and by the chairman, and secretary of this meeting.

MICHAEL M'NAMARA, Chairman.
J. JOHN M'NAMARA, Secretary.[4]

The members of the Congregation were also duly called upon to subscribe donations, but it was not till May 17, 1830, that subscribers were notified by circular to remit the sums promised "as soon as convenient, to James Seymour, Esq., Cashier of the Bank of Rochester, for the trustees of the Roman Catholic Church of that place."[5] Actual steps to begin building operations were not taken till the autumn of that year. The trustees had then associated with them a building committee, consisting of Rev. Michael McNamara, Patrk. Kavanagh, J. O'Neil, Dennis Brady, Mr. Berthrong. Together they decided to build the new church 90 ft. long, 55 ft. wide, and 30 ft. high, with walls 16 inches thick. The advertisements stipulated that the building be enclosed on or about the 15th of November. No bids were received at this time on account of the lateness of the season.[6] The trustees, therefore, advertised again, at the end of November, for sealed proposals from builders who were "to commence as early in the Spring as the weather will permit." Separate bids were asked and received for the mason work and carpenter work, the trustees undertaking to furnish the materials.[7] Matters moved slowly, or rather were at a stand still during the winter. As late as April 4, 1831, the trustees "resolved that a meeting of the Congregation be called on next Sunday for to consult with them on the subject of removing those Graves that may be within the lines of the new Building." A new resolution makes the size of the Church: 80 ft. long and 55 ft. wide (outside measure), 30 ft. high, with a tower at the front end 22ft. square and about 100 ft. high, and with "a schoolroom, 25 ft.

by the breadth of the building under the north end of the new Church."[8]

The pulling down of the old church necessitated the finding of another place of worship. May 7, 1831, the trustees entered into an agreement with J. B. Crane for the renting of the lower story of his schoolroom "situate in Buffalo Street opposite the Bathhouse, for one day in seven (the Sabbath), for the purpose of Religious worship during three months, with the privilege of continuing." The rent amounted to $1.25 a Sunday, and was payable monthly, but the trustees were "to repair all damages accruing from their occupancy, this agreement being in force from the first day of May instant."[9] Thenceforth the *Records of the Roman Catholic Church of St. Patrick's, Rochester,* are filled with minute details of all sorts connected with the building of this church. They do not betray any partisan strife in the work until a copy of a letter addressed by the trustees to Bishop Dubois appears in the book.

St. Patrick's Church, Rochester,
January 4th, 1832.

Rt. Rev. Dr. Dubois,
My Lord,

Your Letter of the 26th ultimo addressed to us has been on Sunday last presented to us by Wm. Tone. The purport thereof excites in us exceedingly great astonishment, & after giveing it the most attentive consideration, we have been utterly unable to hear or know of any Scandal or Excitement whatsoever amongst our Congregation: either during the period of your absence from this Diocese or at the present time. On the contrary, we unhesitatingly & fearlessly assert that during the last two Years the Spiritual & Temporal concerns of this Congregation have prospered more in proportion to our worshippers than any Congregation of Similar pecuniary resources in this State. The Entire Congregation, except Wm. Tone & A few other designing men feel extremely well satisfied with our present pastor, who ardently and zealously performs all the numerous and arduous duties that devolve on him. He has obtained large Collections in Canada, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington & diverse other places toward aiding us in building our New Church here, & were it not for his unceasing exertions for that highly necessary object, we could not have attempted, from our own limited circumstances, [to] commence so expensive an undertaking.

Nothwithstanding the members of Our own Congregation, except a few individuals, were extremely liberal in their Contributions for that laudable object. Our Old Church has been thrown down in the

There is no picture extant of the first St. Patrick's Church (42 ft. long and 38 ft. wide). O'Reilly's Sketches of Rochester has this wood cut of the second St. Patrick's Church (80 ft. long and 55 ft. wide), finished in 1832, and in use till 1864. The Rectory alongside was built as a testimonial of esteem and gratitude after Father O'Reilly's house burned, December 17, 1833.

early part of last Spring—May, & we have erected on the Site on which it Stood A Splendid Edifice, 80 feet long, 55 feet wide, & 32 feet high, exclusive of A Semidome or Niche built with brick on the North end for the Altar. The Building is of Stone, the Walls 3 feet thick, beneath and 2 feet thick above the surface, it is also calculated for a Commodious School Room in the basement Storey. The Building is inclosed, Glazed, floored, one coat of plastering thereon & A Temporary Altar and pulpit erected. We Worship there since Christmas Day, we have no pews in it as yet, but have A few days ago Advertised for proposals for their erection, we expect to have the Church completely finished by next Spring, except the Tower, which is 81 feet high, which is now framed and erected, but will not be finished by the Sd. time.

We feel great pleasure in informing your Lordship that our Pastor has made every possible Sacrifice to aid us in the building of our Church. We are at present indebted to him over a Year's salary which we have applied toward the Building & we experience no inconvenience from him on that Subject, he being as strict and attentive in the discharge of his various pastoral duties as though we had paid him punctually. Our funds are now exhausted, and we have to get the Church finished on the individual responsibility of some members of the Board until monies will be collected to repay them. We are at present probably $300 in debt, besides the above debt due to our Clergyman. Respecting the allusion you have made to the next election for Trustees, the act by which we were incorporated empowers the Trustees to make part of the qualification for voters, which part our Board in the Spring of 1830 made to correspond, as much as they could legally do so, with regulations you left written for them or their predecessors. The part is also conformable to your present suggestions, in that respect the annual day of Election was permanently fixed by the said act of Incorporation, and we have not the power to alter it, doing so being incompatible with the law of the State, which we as Citizens have sworn to be governed by.

We would respectfully suggest whether, from the unfarnished facts we have herein communicated to you, either our Pastor or our Congregation or ourselves, Trustees, have merited either the censure or the misrepresentation of any impartial or honest person. We presume we need not think or represent that there is perhaps no Religious Society in the United States, in which there might not be found a few isolated individuals who would not be dissatisfied with either their Pastor or Trustees, & perhaps in no Society are there fewer persons of this description than ours.

As for the people of Greece, we consider them of no benefit to our Congregation, they having a Church themselves, which makes their interests separated and detached from ours. They scarcely pay anything to support, say at most about $15 per year. We would be well pleased, would they get a Clergyman for themselves, provided they are able to pay him. This we would prefer to their sowing the seed of discord amongst our Congregation.

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Were they to get A Pastor, they can expect no pecuniary aid from us for his support, as we have to finish Our Church and pay our Clergyman, without their Assisting us.

We would moreover represent to Your Lordship that Wm. Tone has openly canvassed with and shown your Letter directed to us to Various persons, and proclaimed its contents for several days prior to his presenting it to us, and publicly avow'd that he would have our present Pastor moved in A very short time. Proceedings of this description, openly exhibited and in an angry manner, we must frankly state, are in our opinion productive of much Evil, and in A Great measure tend to bring our Holy Religion in disrepute.

As an act of Justice to Our Clergyman, to our Congregation, and to ourselves, we respectfully Sollicit your Lordship to transmit to us A Copy, [as]soon as convenient, of the complaint that has been made to you and the Subscribers thereof. Being well aware that you must have been entirely misinformed from the purport of and manner in which your Letter to us was conveyed, we have, therefore, arrived at the conclusion that it was injudicious to read your Letter to the congregation, and we entertain no apprehension but that, on your arrival here, you will be well pleased with his as well as all our other proceedings during your departure. Our Board consists of 8 Members, there being one vacancy. Meantime we remain, with distinguished consideration, your Lordships'

Most Obedient Servants—

JOHN DAVID WALSH President
ROBT. ELLIOTT Secretary
EDWARD KELLY Treasurer
W. A. RABBESON
PETER O'REGAN
PATRICK JNO. MCNAMARA
BERNARD MCKENNA.

The Memorial Cross, put up in Mt. Read Cemetery by old Father Maurice, has the following testimony: "Here stood the Church of St. Ambrose Erected A.D. 1829. Replaced by the Church Our Mother of Sorrows. A.D. 1860." Nevertheless, it was not till February 5, 1832, that the Church was in use. A notice in the *Rochester Daily Advertiser* states that "the new Catholic Church in Greece will be open for Divine Service this day. The Rev. Francis O'Donoghue, of Salina, will officiate.—Those of different denominations are respectfully invited to attend Services to commence at ½ past 10 o'clock."[10] The same newspaper announced some months later that "the Rev. Mr. McGary, from New York, will perform divine service in the new Roman Catholic church in Greece on Sunday (being Easter day)", April 20, 1832.[11] Again non-Catholics are

invited to attend services at the same hour as before. A notice to the same effect, May 5, 1832, also attests the presence of Rev. Mr. McGerry from New York at Mt. Read on the following day which was Sunday. No doubt his ministration there was a factor in determining the conduct of the trustees of St. Patrick's Church, when they received the following letter from Father McGerry:

> To the Trustees of St. Patrick's Church, Rochester
> Gentlemen:
>
> It may be that you have not been informed of the object for which I came to Rochester, yet if you refer to the Second Letter of the Bishop in Answer to your first, you will there find me announced to you, and the object of my Mission explained. You are aware that several complaints have been lodged by Members of this Congregation to his Lordship (Dr. Dubois) against your Pastor, Revd. Mr. MacNamara. The first and principal one is that he absented himself for too great a length of time on Collections, and that he collected money for his own personal use to the injury of the Church collection. Now that Revd. Mr. McNamara may be cleared from any such charge, you are called on to obtain from him a regular list of the persons who subscribed to the erection of your Church and the Sum Subscribed by each Individual on the Pensylvania Collection when Mr. Wm. Tone accompanied his Reverence. The Same is also required for the other Collections made in New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington, and lastly that of Canada. You are also called on by the Bishop to give an account of all the money received by Said Collections, in a word a clear and correct statement of the actual state of the finances of Your Church. I expect his Lordship in the Course of a few days and confidently hope that you will have these requests complied with. Be so kind as to let me hear from you as soon as convenient. May Charity and the Love of God be the Sole Object of this Investigation.
>
> Very Respectfully in Christ,
> J. F. McGERRY.[12]

There was no mistake possible when the matter was put as clearly as this. The Trustees, however, had no intention to accept the Bishop's envoy, and their decision entailed a series of resolutions, which were formulated at their meeting, April 29, 1832.

> Resolved, That in Consequence of the Revd. Mr. McGerry having clearly evinced himself, since his arrival here to be a most decided partisan, solely leagued with Messrs. Kearney, Tone, Reed, and the others of the Persons who are hostile to our Priest, We are, therefore, constrained to decide that, being evidently a party Man, he is

NAZARETH COLLEGE
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not a suitable or proper person to pursue any investigation concerning this Congregation.

Resolved, That Right Revd. Dr. Dubois be, therefore, respectfully requested to permit the Very Revd. Dr. Power & the Revd. Mr. Levins, being both Clergymen of impartiality, Sound Sense, Sound Judgment, And well known integrity, to attend at this place as the Judges of the pending Investigation.

Resolved, That we, therefore, abstain from entering into any Investigation Concerning Our Church affairs till the arrival of the Bishop. We are willing to have an Investigation, fear it not, all we solicit is Impartial Justice. We expect to be granted it, and we are determined to obtain it.

Resolved, That the very Revd. Dr. Power & the Rev. Mr. Levins be and they are hereby requested to attend here on the investigation and that the Very Revd. Dr. Power be also requested to deliver a Charity Sermon in our Church at its Consecration.

Resolved that a Committee of two be appointed to wait on Revd. Mr. McGerry to inform him that an Answer has been sent to the Bishop.

The Officers of the Board of Trustees sent a copy of all these resolutions to Bishop Dubois, telling him that his "Compliance with tenor thereof will render an Act of Kindness as well as of impartial Justice to this Congregation."A letter was also directed to Revd. Mr. Levins and Very Revd. Dr. Power. In spite of their previous resolution not to enter into any investigation till the Bishop's arrival, the trustees resolved, at a special meeting held May 2, 1832, "that our Pastor be respectfully requested to furnish this Board with all the Particulars within his reach concerning the Monies he paid our predecessors and ourselves as the proceeds of the collections he made for Building our Church on the Pensylvania Canal, New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, & Washington Citys, and in Canada, and that the Secretary of this Board do write a letter to him for that purpose." This does not mean that they mistrusted their priest, as they expressly declared in another resolution: "Tho we solicit the information required in the foregoing resolution, we have the most implicit confidence in the integrity and faithful discharge of the duties connected with the aforesaid collections by our Pastor, and that our only motive for requiring said information is to silence the unfounded insinuations secretly propagated by a few wicked and Malicious Individuals." The trustees further determined, May 13, 1832, "That no private interview be had

with Bishop by any Member of this Board until the entire body be regularly notified to have Such interview, and Every Member, when before the Bishop, to state and reply to such questions as may be put to them." As far as the trustees themselves were concerned, they evidently wished to avoid any secret machinations among their own number.

This is the last resolution entered in the minutes of the Board of Trustees dealing with this matter. It does honor to that body that, despite the troubled state of things, they arranged for a meeting of the Congregation on this same date to deal with the problem of a parish school. The following Preamble and Resolutions were unanimously adopted:

> Whereas, There has not been as yet any School Established, connected with this Congregation, which, therefore, Causes the Children of our people to be compelled to Seek Education thro the medium of Sectarian School which thereby exposes the Catholic Children who get Educated in these Schools to be liable to imbibe the contagion of the Various Sectarian doctrine So zealously propagated in these Seminaries against the practices and principles of Our Holy Religion, And which, therefore, must essentially injure and may at no distant period eventually withdraw the youth of our people from the Catholic Religion;
>
> Resolved, Therefore, in order to arrest the farther progress of this direful evil, We do hereby pledge Ourselves to establish a Male & female School in the basement Story of this Church for the purpose of educating the Children of this Congregation in the Principles of Our Holy Religion.
>
> Resolved, For the purpose of aiding the Trustees in the preparation of the School Room, a subscription be entered into for that purpose."

A subscription list is the last record in the Book, the rest of which is all blank. Patk. John MacNamara, John D. Walsh, W. A. Rabbeson, Bernard McKernan, John Behan, James Flood, Alexr Potter subscribed each two dollars; Thomas Coffy, James McCarthy, Alek Roach, Patrick Sexton, Danl Eagan, Dens Keefe, Jerry Wovos, Wm. Diamond subscribed each one dollar. The name of Dens Beady ends the list, but the amount of his donation is not indicated. No doubt other subscriptions were also expected. These friends of Catholic education probably knew what had been communicated to the Editor of the *Rochester Daily Advertiser* about the attendance in the Charity Infant School, established in 1831 under Presbyterian auspices. The communication was printed January

18, 1832: "By a casual inspection of the school a few days ago, 75 scholars were present—of whom it was found that 23 were Catholics, 18 Episcopalians, 3 Baptists, 5 Methodists, and 5 acknowledge no denomination, 9 say they belonged to the Second, and 12 to the First Presbyterian Church." Here a Charity School, managed by the Young Ladies' Benevolent Society of the First Presbyterian Church, had a larger attendance of Catholic children than of children belonging to any other denomination. They were doubtless more exposed to the danger of losing their faith than the Catholic children in Seminaries, that were pay schools and not charity schools.

A week after the meeting of the trustees and of the Congregation, their Pastor was relieved of his charge. The oldest book of its kind at the Rochester Cathedral has the following testimony on the front fly leaf: "Marriage & Baptism Register of St. Patrick's Church, Rochester Commenced May the 20, 1832. The Revd. John F. McGerry appointed pastor the same day By the Rt. Revd. Dr. Dubois—R. C.—Bishop of New York State &c. J. F. McGerry Vic. Genl." The two first baptisms entered by "J. F. McGerry Pastor" are earlier than that date, the first being May 1, 1832, and the second May 18, 1832. It is also noteworthy that the first child baptized by him was the son of Walter A. Rabbeson, who is listed among the trustees at their meeting, April 29, 1832, when the vigorous set of resolutions against the intervention of the Bishop's envoy was formulated. Even closer relations developed between this Trustee and the new Pastor. For, a notice inserted in the *Rochester Daily Advertiser,* July 31, 1832, informed the public that "the residence of the Rev. J. F. McGERRY, Roman Catholic Pastor, is at the house of W. A. Rabbeson in Mill street, 3rd door north of Mumford street." This careful indication of his lodging may have been prompted by the fear that Catholics would soon stand in sore need of his ministry for their sick, as Father McGerry had associated himself with seven Protestant ministers in a notice of the Clergy, which was published also in the *Rochester Daily Advertiser,* June 21, 1832, as follows:

> As the Board of Trustees, while they decline, from an apprehended inconsistency with their municipal character, passing any recommendation for the religious observance of a day in reference to the impending pestilence, at the same time state "that as indi-

viduals they would consider the observation of such a day very proper to be recommended by the clergy themselves."

In accordance with that opinion and in deference to the unanimous expression of the citizens in the public meeting of Monday last as well as in fulfilment of the official responsibility resting upon them in this solemn crisis:

The Clergy of the village of Rochester unanimously recommend to their respective congregations the observance of FRIDAY next as a day of HUMILIATION, FASTING and PRAYER in reference to the disease with which our village and country are threatened. They also take this opportunity of giving public notice that divine service and a sermon may be expected in each church at the usual hour of morning service and at *three o'clock* in the afternoon. While in this appointment the Clergy do not feel authorized to embrace anything beyond a recommendation to their respective congregations, they beg leave respectfully to call the attention of their fellow-citizens generally to the subjoined resolution of the public meeting of Monday last:

Resolved, That this meeting concur in the request understood to have been presented to the Board of Trustees for the appointment of Friday next as a day of public humiliation, fasting and prayer. And if such a day be appointed by that body, also recommend to their fellow-citizens the closing of stores and the suspension of business on that occasion.

HENRY J. WHITEHOUSE	WILLIAM WISNER
JOSEPH PENNEY	JOHN F. MEGARY
O. C. COMSTOCK	H. V. D. JOHN
G. FILLMORE	LUKE LYONS

Here danger to the community at large united denominations of the most diverging faiths in humiliation, fasting, and prayer. This did not, however, mean the end of the old hostilities against the Catholic Church despite the better prospects for the Catholic cause, all of which was duly noted by Mr. Buchan in his communication to the editor of the *United States Catholic Press:*

Rochester, 25th June, 1832.

Dear Sir:—The pamphlets which you have had the kindness to send me will do much good, not only in enabling our brethren the more readily to confute the false arguments which are constantly used by their Presbyterian neighbours against them, but if Protestants will likewise read them, they will serve as an antidote to the mental poison circulated by the Protestant Tract Society in this state in particular. They are indefatigable in their exertions, having agents numerously scattered up and down in every part of the country, who circulate these tracts gratis among all classes. They chiefly consist of violent and often indecent attacks on our religion;

and for supporting their aspersions they have recourse to the most extraordinary falsehoods and the grossest perversions of history. I have often been inclined to laugh at their absurd romances, did I not feel indignant when I know full well that the *very reverend gentlemen* who write them are aware of their utter falsity. On this subject I shall endeavor to write you on another occasion, and expose to the world the cunning and the unprincipled conduct of these wolves in sheep's clothing.

In Rochester and its neighborhood we have had a new spirit infused within us, and our cause is progressing very fast. The principal cause of this new impetus is the Bishop's having been pleased to place over us the Rev. John McGary, late of Maryland, who is indefatigable in his labors in the cause of our holy religion. Under such a truly Christian pastor as Mr. McGary, I have little doubt that his flock here will increase two-fold. You shall hear from me soon again.

Ever yours,

B.

This shipment of Catholic pamphlet literature was due to the zeal of a Catholic layman for the welfare of his faith in Rochester. A little later corporate action was taken mainly to furnish not only more solid reading, but also instruction, and Roman Catholics were informed of the fact by a paid notice in the *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, September 29, 1832:

The Roman Catholic Peace Society of the Parish of Rochester have just received a collection of Catholic Books, among which are Catechisms, School Books, and Testaments:—Also Cobbett's History of the Reformation, Milner's Summary of the History and Doctrines of the Holy Scriptures, and Catholic Prayer Books, which may be had at a trifle over cost by applying at the office of the Society at the chapel or to any of its officers.

Parents are requested to be punctual in sending their children to the Sunday School at the chapel every Sunday morning at 9 o'clock.

The Roman Catholic Peace Society had been founded not because of external hostility, but because of internal trouble. The appointment of a new Pastor, Father McGerry, was not admitted by the Board of Trustees as a whole, and St. Patrick's Church was consequently put under an interdict. The trouble apparently made the former Pastor a ready prey to disease. At all events, Father McNamara died at the early age of thirty-nine while the cholera epidemic was raging. The *Rochester Daily Advertiser* printed the Obituary, communicated to it, September 1, 1832:

The Rev. MICHAEL MACNAMARA, for several years Roman Catholic Pastor of Rochester, expired in Chili, near this place, on the 30th August. He was a native of the city of Limerick, Ireland. His assiduity and piety have mainly contributed to the prosperity of the congregation; and his persevering exertions have aided largely in the erection of their spacious church in Rochester. Benevolent in feeling, unassuming in manners, and liberal in principle (though strict and zealous in the exercise of his clerical functions), he was generally esteemed by the citizens of his acquaintance, of all sects. The interest felt in his fate was testified by the very large concourse that attended the removal yesterday of his remains to the church in Rochester. The corpse is now at the church, and will be interred there at 8 o'clock this morning.

Father MacNamara was buried in the basement of the Church under the High Altar. Some months later the *Rochester Daily Advertiser* also published a financial statement, intended no doubt to vindicate the deceased Pastor and the Trustees.

AN ACCOUNT

Of the Receipts and disbursements, by the Treasurer of SAINT PATRICK'S CHURCH, Rochester, from the 18th April, 1830, to the 5th of August, 1832.

RECEIPTS

Balance from last Treasurer, handed over to Edward Kelly, Treasurer		$ 8.59
Pew Rent		1,031.08
Sunday collections		422.26
Subscriptions from congregation towards erecting new church		1,144.04
Foreign subscriptions, received by the Rev. Michael MacNamara, towards erecting new church, viz:		
From Pennsylvania Canals	$ 211.75	
Collected in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Dist. Columbia, and this state	587.59	
Collected in Canada	300.00	
From Archibald McDonnell, Canada	50.00	
" Nicholas C. Devereux, Utica	50.00	
" Gen. Wm. Kiernan, Steu. county, N. Y.	30.00	
" Matthew Beahan, Tomp. county, N. Y.	25.00	
" John Bradley, Lyons, Wayne county, N. Y	10.00	
" Mr. Ryan, Geneva, Ont. county, N. Y.	5.00	
" Mr. Mann, do. do.	5.00	
" native Americans in Rochester	383.00	
" Rev. Michael Macnamara, his subscription	160.00	
Total subscriptions collected by Rev Michael Macnamara		1,817.34

A loan obtained from Hibernian Benevolent Society of Rochester		100.00
" " " " Monroe Bank by Rev. Michael Macnamara, Patrick John Macnamara, and John David Walsh		200.00
A loan obtained from Patrick John Macnamara		80.00
" " " " James & Hugh Carroll, Geneseo		40.00
" " " " Robert Elliotte, Architect, Rochester		15.00
		$4,858.31

DISBURSEMENTS

Clergyman		1,608.59
Altar, for Wine and Candles		48.61
Church, for fuel	$9.00	
Sundry items	33.88	
Auctioneer's fees	5.00	
Repairing organ	8.13	
		56.01
Sexton, John O'Dwyer	$46.22	
Nicholas C. Hatch	58.11	
		104.33
Erecting New Church		
Carpenters	$1,035.12	
Masons	629.86	
Plasterers	164.62	
Laborers	36.50	
Teaming	30.69	
Stone	333.74	
Lumber	391.09	
Hardware	69.83	
Brick	10.88	
Glass and Sashes	58.26	
Lime and Sand	39.63	
Drawing Contracts	3.00	
Miscellaneous Expenses	7.00	
		$2,810.52
Church Lot, paid Nicholas Doody, balance of purchase of church lot which he lent our predecessors		111.75
William Tone, for services of his team for 18 days, while on a tour of collection on Pennsylvania Canal for the church, exclusive $20 the Trustees paid him towards his expenses previous to his departure on said tour		60.00
John Peter Prongue, per Bishop's order		10.00
Temporary place of worship, while the church was building paid		35.00

Bad Bills handed by late Treasurer	4.00
Balance in hands of Treasurer	9.50
(Errors and omissions excepted.)	$4,858.31

By order of the Board of Trustees of Saint Patrick's Church, Rochester, Monroe county,

PATRICK JOHN MACNAMARA, Sec'y. JOHN DAVID WALSH, Pres't.
December 22, 1832.

Errors apparently did creep into this statement, if Edward Kelly's report as Treasurer, which is inserted in the Trustee minutes, March 4, 1832, is correct. There the amount of the "Sunday Collection from 8th May, 1831, to 22nd Jany. last" is $1019.79, and the pew rents for the same period are only $130.77½. There may have been an inversion in the order of items when the financial statement was published, as the Pew Rent is put there at $1031.08, and the Sunday collections at $422.26. Even so, the Sunday collections ought to have been proportionately much more, as the period covered by the statement is from April, 1830, to August 5, 1832. Edward Kelly's report also gives an interesting list of Notes made in favor of St. Patrick's Church by some members of the Congregation, which in all probability are their subscriptions: Patk. Kearney $50, Patk Mailey $25, Conroy, Short & Lynch $15, Patk. Buckley $4, James Flinn $12.50, Patk. Kavanagh $20, John Klaim $10, Wm. O'Neile $10, Ed. Dooly $4, Michl Kinchella $5, Patk Levy $4, Michael Levy $4.

Meanwhile, a division had occurred in the Catholic Parish of Rochester, where a place of Worship had been established apart from the interdicted Church of St. Patrick. There was even a movement under way to create a new parish, as is evident from the following advertisement in the *Rochester Daily Advertiser:*

NOTICE

Is hereby given, that the undersigned and their associates will, at the next session of the Legislature of this state, apply for a charter of a Roman Catholic Congregation in the village of Rochester, Monroe co., under the name, style, and title of "The Board of Trustees of St. Peter's Church, Rochester.

W. A. RABBESON
PATRICK KEARNEY
N. C. HATCH
WM. O'NEIL
PATRICK O'MAILEY
JAMES TONE
JNO. SHERIDAN

Dated Rochester, Nov. 15, 1832.[13]

This same month of November the Catholics of Rochester received a new Pastor. Here again the fly leaf in front of the first extant Baptism and Marriage Register of St. Patrick's Church furnishes the information: "Revd. Bernard O'Reilly was appointed Pastor of Rochester by Right Revd. John Dubois on the 26th day of November 1832.—And arrived in Rochester on the 4th of December 1832." Some days before this the *Rochester Daily Advertiser* printed a "Notice to Roman Catholics. Divine service as usual may be expected on Sunday next at the Chapel of the Catholic Association on Buffalo street. Mass will be said by Rev. Mr. O'Reilly of New York, who has recently been appointed Pastor of this congregation by the Rt. Rev. Bishop."[14]

Several days later the Trustees of St. Patrick's Church, Monroe Co., won the suit that they had instituted against the officers of the first Catholic Church organization in Rochester, in order to have the title of the church lot transferred to themselves. As early as February 21, 1830, a committee was "appointed to wait on the members of this Congregation whose names are mentioned in the Deed of this Church Lot—for to acquaint them that the present Trustees would feel much gratified if they would come forward and form a meeting with the Trustees to inquire into the propriety of having the Deed for the Church Lot transferred from them to the Board of Trustees regularly Elected and Incorporated by law."[15] Evidently no results were then attained, as a similar resolution was adopted March 31, 1831, which was again renewed January 24, 1832.[16] In fact, nothing was really accomplished in the matter until there was an infringement on the Church Lot by Crosman Clark. Hestor Steven, Esq., the professional gentleman consulted, declared that "it was indispensably necessary to obtain from those persons the deed alluded to, in order to completely vest the title of said Lot in the Congregation, otherwise the infringement now making by Mr. Clarke on the East line of the Church Lot could not be legally resisted. Moreover, Mr. Stevens said that he entertained no doubt whatever but that these persons would be speedily compelled by Law to convey Said Title to the Said Board of Trustees, and that they would also be unavoidably compelled to pay all expenses attendent on Such Suit."[17] That was enough for the Trustees, who resolved, May 2, 1832, "that

BERNARD O'REILLY, D. D.

Second Bishop of Hartford, 1850-1856
Rector of St. Patrick's Church, 1832-1834, 1835-1847
Vicar General of the Diocese of Buffalo, 1847-1850

John D. Walsh and James McCarthy be appointed a Committee for the purpose of obtaining from John McGuire, James A. Flynn, Patrick McChristian, James McChristian, John Sheridan, and Kitty his Wife a deed of the Lot, on which Saint Patrick's Church now stands, to and in the name of the Trustees of Saint Patrick's Church, Rochester, Monroe County, and that they hereby have full power to employ one or more Attornies, Sollicitors, and Counsellors, and to commence a Suit or Suits at Law or in Equity in the Name and on behalf of the Trustees . . . .for the purpose of procuring such deed against all such and every person or persons whom they may be necessary to proceed against for that purpose."

The case was brought before the Chancery Court of the Eighth Circuit, where the complaint of the Trustees sought to establish that they were the legal successors of the officers of the first Catholic organization in Rochester, in which the deed vested the title of the property. An injunction was issued May 4, 1832, "restraining the said Defendants their agents and their attornies from selling disposing of or conveying by deed or otherwise, from authorizing any other person or persons to sell dispose of or convey the land . . . and also from bringing any action of ejectment or instituting any proceedings at law" against the trustees who were in actual possession of the property.[18] The case was finally argued in Chancery, November 19, 1832, by Mr. A. Samson, the Counsel for the Complainants, and by C. M. Lee, the Counsel for the Defendants. The decretal order, however, was not given by A. Gardiner till December 8, 1832. The Defendants were then obliged "within ten days after service upon them of a certified copy of this decree to make execute & deliver to the said Complainants duly signed, sealed, and acknowledged by the said defendants respectively, a good and sufficient Deed of conveyance in fee simple of the premises mentioned and set forth in the Bill of Complaint in this cause."[19] Such an indenture as ordered was executed in favor of the Trustees, January 16, 1833.[20]

The very next month there is evidence that an agreement was apparently reached, and the divided congregation reunited. The *Rochester Daily Advertiser* published, February 13, 1833, and also repeatedly the days following, a "Notice to the Creditors of St. Patrick's Church, in the village of

Rochester. All persons, having claims on St. Patrick's Church, in the village of Rochester, are requested to attend at the Chapel now occupied by the Catholic Congregation in Buffalo street, on Friday, the 15th inst., between the hours of 10 and 11 o'clock, where gentlemen will be in attendance to receive their accounts, and to make arrangements for the payment of the same. Individuals, not attending on the above day, will be considered as having no claims on said church." The following summer the danger of any further attempt at an infringement on the Church lot by Crosman Clark was definitely eliminated, when Father Bernard O'Reilly, August 20, 1833, purchased from him the adjoining lot, 54 ft. front and 132 ft. deep, for $800.[22] Here a rectory was built by the Pastor, adjoining the Catholic Church, which is said to have been "owned and occupied by Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, Roman Catholic Pastor", when it was almost totally destroyed by fire Tuesday noon, December 17, 1833. There was no insurance on the building, but the furniture was saved with but little injury. This was due to the good office of neighbors, as a Card in the *Rochester Daily Advertiser* attests.

> The Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, considering himself much indebted to the citizens of Rochester for the important services rendered him during the late fire, adopts this present medium for conveying to them his most sincere thanks. To those who first arrived and placed all that was valuable beyond the reach of danger, he will always consider himself indebted—as also to the firemen, whose activity and untiring exertion extinguished the flames with a rapidity seldom if ever surpassed. He takes great pleasure in stating that he witnessed, on the part of all, that generosity of feeling, (united with every effort to render his loss as little as possible), which is calculated to endear men to each other. All seemed to be moved by the same principle—to do the greatest possible good appeared to be the object of all; and to attain this object, all seemed to vie with each other in zeal and exertion.
>
> To the gentlemen of the fire department, the Rev. Mr. O'Reilly considers himself particularly indebted; and as it is not possible for him to confer any other mark of esteem on that worthy and philanthropic body of men, he wishes them, individually and collectively, to accept his most sincere acknowledgement for their active and efficient services on the late occasion.[23]

The misfortune was also the occasion for the manifestation of more than merely good will on the part of St. Patrick's Congregation towards its Pastor. Its members assembled at

a general meeting in St. Patrick's Church, December 21, 1833; Patrick Kearney was Chairman, and John David Walsh Secretary. A series of resolutions were unanimously adopted to repair as much as possible the losses sustained through the fire, as may be seen from the text itself.

Whereas, This Congregation has witnessed, with extreme regret, the total destruction of the dwelling of our highly esteemed Pastor, Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, by the recent fire, and

Whereas, He has, since his arrival here, been in a great measure deprived of the means of defraying even the contingent expenses which every clergyman must necessarily incur in supporting a suitable establishment as pastor of a large congregation, in consequence of the heavy debt unavoidably incurred in building so splendid a church as this congregation has done. From the extreme solicitude and attention he has invariably manifested for the temporal and spiritual welfare of every member of his flock, we owe a debt of gratitude to him which we at all times shall be willing to discharge.

Resolved, therefore, That this congregation feel themselves bound to erect a suitable building for our Pastor, with all convenient speed, and that the expense of so doing be paid by private subscription among ourselves, and that these subscriptions be tendered to him as a small token of our respect and esteem.

After which a collection was taken up and about $600 subscribed.

Resolved, That the Rev. Bernard O'Reilly be and is hereby appointed Treasurer to this fund.

Resolved, That the Chairman and Secretary, together with the following persons be, and they are hereby appointed a building committee on behalf of the congregation to superintend and manage the erection of the said building, and to transact any other business connected therewith, viz. Wm. Tone, Ptk. John Macnamara, Robert Eliotte, John Beahan, Alexander Roche, Ptk. Doyle, Garret Madden, Peter O'Reagan, James Claffey, Ptk. O'Mealey, F. H. Consitt, J. J. Mulligan, Thos. Tyrell, and John O'Neill.[24]

Chapter IV

INCREASE OF CHURCHES

The Spring of 1834 saw the Village of Rochester become the City of Rochester. The new order of things is attested in the publication of the *Charter and Directory of the City of Rochester* by C. and M. Morse, 1834. In this, the description of St. Patrick's Church is followed by that of a second Catholic Church: St. Mary's Church. "This church, formerly a Methodist meeting house, is situated on St. Paul-street in the eastern part of the city. It is a neat brick building, 42 feet by 60, surmounted by an octagon cupola, and from the elevated site on which it stands, it makes a handsome appearance. The present pastor of both these churches is Rev. Bernard O'Reilly assisted by Rev. Patrick Foley."[1] The *First Wesleyan Methodist Episcopal Church of Rochester* had moved to the new church erected by this Congregation in 1831, corner Buffalo and Fitzhugh Streets.[2] Their former church was sold January 22, 1833, to Richard van Kleeck, who the next day, for $3000, conveyed the property to Patrick Kearney, William Tone, Patrick O'Mailey, John Sheridan, William O'Neil, and Nicholas Read. These men were all residents of Rochester, except William Tone of Chili and Nicholas Read of Greece.[3] After a tenure of two years, Catholics again sold the property, as it is deeded, February 14, 1835, for $3600 by the purchasers and their wives to Everard Peck of Rochester.[4] The Church again became a place of Protestant worship, as the *East Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Rochester* was incorporated, September 26, 1836, "in its place of worship on St. Paul St."[5]

The Catholics of Auburn were more successful than the members of this new Parish in Rochester. There the Catholics received the ministration of a zealous missionary priest, the Rev. Francis O'Donoghue of Salina (now a part of Syracuse), who first said his Mass for the people in a private house, and occasionally at least used the Court House of a Sunday after-

noon to preach. Thus the *Cayuga Republican,* August 24 and October 12, 1831, advertised sermons there on the following Sundays, giving the subject on the second occasion,—"Unity of the Catholick or Universal Church." The Court House services seemed to have been intended for more than a merely Catholic audience. These primitive conditions ceased with the sale of the Methodist Church and property on Chapel St., by John Seymour, Trustee of the First Methodist Church, to Hugh Ward, Patrick Carberry, Thomas Fanning, Joseph Watson, Matthew Walpole, trustees of the Roman Catholic Church of Auburn, for the sum of $1200.[6] The following letter to the *New York Weekly Register and Catholic Diary* shows what this meant for the progress of Catholicism in Auburn.

Auburn, Tuesday, October 28, 1834.

Mr. Editor:—Thursday, the 23rd inst, was a glorious day for the Catholics of Auburn. On that day our church was dedicated by the Very Rev. Dr. Power to the Holy Family. The concourse was great and respectable in the morning and evening; our respected and talented vicar-general preached twice with great effect. Some of our best judges of good speaking have declared, that nothing could be better adapted for the occasion than his morning discourse, and in the evening his dogmatic discourse was unrivalled.

We have just reason to be proud of our church; it is as neat an edifice as can be seen in any town or city in the Union. Its dimensions are thirty-five by sixty, situated in a beautiful part of this very handsome village. It is decorated with a very neat steeple, surmounted by a very fine cross, and has a very imposing look. The interior is tastely painted, and the light admitted through the lower windows, which are of stained glass, on which are represented the twelve apostles, throws a consecrated calm around, which cannot fail producing a devotional feeling.

We owe a great deal to the exertions and zeal of our worthy and pious pastor, the Rev. Francis O'Donoghue, who has spared neither his person nor his purse in procuring for us this Church. We know that his sacrifices have been great, and we duly appreciate them, and Auburn would not now have to boast of her lovely tabernacle, had he not come to her relief.

It would not be fair to pass by unnoticed the spirited and ardent efforts of the few Catholics of this place and its vicinity; they felt the want of a place of worship, and often sighed for the hour when they could have the pleasure of assembling in the House of the Lord. They had hitherto assembled in the house of the venerable Mr. Hugh Ward, whose piety and example strengthened them in their faith and induced them to persevere in their efforts until they had the happiness of seeing them crowned with success.

In the village of Geneva, there is a very handsome brick Church,

which was dedicated on Sunday, 26th, to the service of the Almighty, under the patronage of St. Francis of Sales. Here the zeal of our pastor and poor people has also shown itself to advantage. It would surprise you, Mr. Editor, to see so handsome a building raised by a few industrious Irish labouring people, who may justly be called the pioneers of religion in that village, where Catholicity was scarcely known, or if spoken of at all, only with vituperation and contempt. This Church can be supported by the produce of a handsome Farm of one hundred and four acres, situated within three miles of Geneva, which was given by Mr. John Ayres of the county of Longford, Ireland, for the support of the Pastor. At present the farm is subject to the maintenance of Mr. Ayres, and is of no actual advantage to the Church until his demise.

Two congregations have been lately formed by our worthy pastor, one in the flourishing and manufacturing village of Seneca Falls, the other in the township of Albion, 27 miles east of Oswego on the mail route. In these districts, preparations are being made for the erection of two churches in the course of the ensueing year, so that there will hardly be any town or village of note in the western district of the State of New York, which will not be blessed with a house of Catholic worship. The chain is now formed from Albany to Buffalo, and the time is not far distant, when it will extend from one end of the Union to the other, binding the children of the Church, who flock to our happy shores from the four winds of Heaven, "in the unity of the spirit and the bond of peace."

I am your humble servant,

C.[7]

It was not till May 21, 1836, that the *New York Catholic Diary* was able to inform its readers that "the New Catholic Church in the flourishing village of Seneca Falls, Seneca Co., N. Y., will be opened for the performance of Divine Service by the Rev. F. O'Donoghue, on the 24th instant. The ground, on which the building is erected, is the gift of G. V. Sackett, Esq.—a kind and liberal Protestant gentleman who resides in said village, and whose extensive liberality is deservedly appreciated."

Such cordial relations of Protestants with Catholics were unfortunately not too general at the time; demonstrations of hostility were experienced by the Catholics of both Rochester and Auburn. After the Catholics had taken possession of the Methodist Chapel in Auburn, a young man was even surprised in the act of setting fire to the church while the poor and scanty congregation was assembled within to worship.[8] A campaign to vilify Catholicism was again in full swing in Rochester which was so outrageous that the *Rochester Repub-*

lican, although under Protestant management, protested June 3, 1834; "The Mongrel Democrat of Tuesday morning contained an article, which for falsehood and malignity, is characteristic of that infamous journal. It assails Catholics and the Catholic faith with a malignity and rancour springing from a heart overflowing with a spirit of the most fiendish intolerance." This did not intimidate the *Rochester Democrat's* correspondent, "O. P. Q." in his weekly contributions. Finally, June 17, 1834, he also tried to prove that Catholics hold "a civil or temporal allegiance to the Pope of Rome", which, of course, was incompatible with the oath of allegiance taken by Catholics to the government of the United States and contrary to the free institutions of the country. The agitation bore fruit. An entirely unprovoked attack was made on Catholics in the *Young Men's Society of Rochester*. One of the largest meetings ever held in the City till then was convened in the Court House on Saturday evening, February 14, 1835. Both Roman Catholics and liberal Protestants assembled to protest against this wanton attack on the Catholic portion of the inhabitants of the United States. Joseph Medberry was appointed Chairman, James Gallery and Patrick John MacNamara Secretaries. In explaining the object of the meeting, John David Walsh made a ringing declaration that, as Catholics, they were prepared to defend their political and religious opinions. Messrs. O. Hastings, McGerry, Platt, Maloney, and Bloss were also speakers, and addressed the meeting in favor of civil and religious liberty. Finally, the following resolutions were presented by Mr. Bloss, and unanimously approved:

> Resolved, That the constitution of the United States and this State have perpetually guaranteed civil and religious liberty to the fullest extent to every religious denomination indiscriminately, we, therefore, deem it to be repugnant to the system of our free government, as well as at variance with the principles of the Gospel, to unfurl the Standard of religious persecution against any portion of our fellow citizens.
>
> Resolved, That the thanks of this meeting are pre-eminently due to the liberal portion of the Young Men's Society for the moral courage they evinced by supporting the compatibility of the Roman Catholic Religion with our free institutions.
>
> Resolved, That we hope that the Young Men's Society will not shrink from the task they have imposed on themselves, until they have tried all other Sects in the same "ordeal", particularly those

influential ones to which they belong themselves, and happy will it be for that denomination that may come out of the fiery ordal unscathed and unscorched.

Resolved, To that Sect we concede the privilege of casting the first stone that has not the sin of persecution attached to the annals of its history.

Resolved, That we entertain similar principles with the framers of our glorious constitution, that man is born equal, and is endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these is life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and, therefore, as Catholics entertain the opinion that their happiness is best promoted by pursuing their peculiar religious tenets, it is a violation of our happy constitution to throw any impediment to retard their doing so,

Resolved, That if religious truth has been really buried under the rubbish and superstition of the dark ages, as some Protestants say, we offer them our brotherly help to disinter it.

Moved by John D. Walsh, and seconded by Daniel Horan,

That the sincere thanks of this meeting be, and are hereby returned to the liberal Protestant gentlemen who have come forward this evening, and cheered us in our persecution by their influence and support.

Resolved, That these proceedings be signed by the Chairman and Secretaries, and published in the papers of this City, and that the several papers throughout the Union, that are friendly to the cause of civil and religious liberty, be respectfully requested to give them an insertion in their respective papers.

JOSEPH MEDBERRY, Chairman.

PAT'K JOHN MACNAMARA
JAS. GALLERY Secretaries.[9]

The Mr. McGerry, who is mentioned among the speakers of this meeting, is no one else than the "Revd. John F. McGerry appointed Pastor of Rochester for 2d. time Novr. 1st. 1834—and arrived in Rochester Novr. 12th, 1834." This information is also given on the front fly leaf of St. Patrick's Baptism and Marriage Register, according to which Father Bernard O'Reilly "left Novr. 20th, 1834." Father McGerry only remained till April 18, 1835, his place being taken again by Father Bernard O'Reilly.

Upon his return to Rochester, he found St. Patrick's Church overcrowded. The way to relieve this condition was suggested by Father John Raffeiner, then of New York City. He had been authorized by Bishop Dubois, March 22, 1833, "to make with his compatriots in all parts of the diocese, whatever arrangements he judged opportune for the foundation of missions and for the building of churches wherever needed;

but in the vicinity of Buffalo, he had to obtain the consent and approval of Reverend Mr. Mertz, the worthy pastor of Buffalo." Father Raffeiner, therefore, urged the German Catholics in St. Patrick's Parish to begin a separate church. They were further encouraged in this undertaking by the Redemptorist Father Prost, who had landed in New York City from Europe, August 15, 1835, and spent two months in assisting Father Raffeiner, having received faculties to work in the Diocese from Bishop Dubois. While on his journey west to join the Redemptorist Fathers located in the Diocese of Cincinnati since 1832 and in the Diocese of Detroit after its establishment in 1833, an accident compelled Father Prost to stop in Rochester.

> We found a break in the canal that prevented our going further. I was obliged to land, and taking my luggage I set out for the Catholic Church. Nearby lived the pastor, Rev. Bernard J. O'Reilly, an Irishman. I presented my letter of recommendation from Bishop Dubois, and was received with the greatest kindness and cordiality. Rev. Father O'Reilly had here a very large congregation, English speaking people mostly, but among them about seven hundred Germans, who were anxious to have a priest of their own. He earnestly besought me to remain at least over Sunday to preach to them. This I consented to do.
>
> As soon as the news of my arrival was noised abroad, and that I was to preach to the Germans on Sunday at St. Patrick's, these poor people came in great numbers. They begged me to remain and become their pastor. I told them that for the present I could not give them any definite answer, as I must first visit my brethren in the West. I promised them, however, that on my return I would gladly take up my abode with them. I encouraged them to procure, in the meantime, a suitable place to serve as a place of worship for themselves. The following day, Monday, I resumed my journey on the Canal to Buffalo. Rochester, the place and the people, made a most favorable impression on me.[10]

This account by Father Prost was written twenty years after the event in the Redemptorist Convent at Mautern in Styria, Austria. It is, however, confirmed by a letter he wrote to the Leopold Foundation in Vienna from Detroit, November 12, 1835:

> I left New York for the West on October 15th. On my way I met several German Catholic settlements that had no priest; in Rochester, a new city in the State of New York, there are about six hundred German Catholics. Rochester would be an excellent

center from which to care for the spiritual needs of outlying German communities. I encouraged the faithful there to procure a church for themselves. It is my intention to return as soon as I possibly can to this community, and devote myself particularly to the care of the Germans, unless more imperative duties prevent me.

The English-speaking communities are not so badly off, as they generally possess at least one priest. But the Germans are poor in the goods of this world and abandoned in their spiritual necessities. As they do not know English, the English-speaking priests can be of little or no assistance to them. While we are evangelizing and converting sixty Indians, six hundred Germans are lost to the faith, because they have no priests. It is indeed heart-rending to see the crying need of help on all sides, and not be able to relieve it because one cannot be everywhere at once. I am now on my way to Green Bay. I am leaving my countrymen with a sad and heavy heart, for I see their great poverty and spiritual destitution.[11]

Father Raffeiner's urging and Father Prost's encouragement now bore fruit. Bernard Klem, Ignatius Eichorn, and John Wegman of the City of Rochester bought, December 7, 1835, of Henry Martin and Anna, his wife, of the City of Albany, for the sum of $1600, "all that Tract or parcel of Land situate in the City of Rochester, in that part thereof lying on the east side of the Genesee River . . . . being the same lot on which stand a brick building, and the lot being forty feet on Ely Street, and extending back southerly from Ely Street the said width of forty feet for the depth or distance of seventy one feet."[12] The purchase was made for the new German Catholic congregation, but, as Mr. Wegman later declared, "We took the deed, and gave our mortgage on the premises, with bond of personal liability. We collected with hard labor $372, and borrowed of the late Patrick Kearney the balance to make a payment of $400. We went on and transformed the building into a church."[13] Father Prost was then informed by letter of all that had been accomplished. His journey to the West was really in the nature of a visitation as religious Superior of the few Redemptorists then in America, for the purpose of finding a suitable place to make an abiding Redemptorist foundation. None of the missions in the West amongst the white settlers or the Indians lent themselves to this object, and Father Prost welcomed the opportunity to return to Rochester, where he arrived July 10, 1836.

My arrival in Rochester called forth general rejoicing. Rev. Father O'Reilly, the pastor of St. Patrick's received me and kept

ST. MARY'S (GERMAN) CHURCH

on Ely St. soon changed its name to St. Joseph's Church. After the congregation moved to the new Church on Franklin St., the Ely St. Church was sold to Bishop Timon who made it St. Mary's (French) Church.

me until I had a place of my own. I visited the church which the Germans had bought and fitted up for services. The work was nearing completion. The building was small, but large enough for the congregation at the time. It had galleries on three sides. There was a good basement. This I had turned into living rooms, for myself and a school room. I had three small rooms, an office, and on one side of the entrance to my quarters in the rear of the church, a kitchen made of boards. The entrance to the school was in the front, between the stairways leading up to the church door. From my own rooms another stairs led up to the sacristy. The surroundings were not indeed agreeable, but I was assured that the civil authorities had already decided upon improving the streets, etc.[14]

The new church organization was legally perfected in due time. The certificate prescribed by law was recorded in the County Clerk's Office, August 20, 1836.

To all whom it may concern—We hereby certify that on the seventh day of August, 1836, the male persons of full age who had statedly worshipped with the Congregation known as St. Mary's Church in Rochester and who formerly had been considered as belonging thereto met at the Church or place of worship of said Congregation in Rochester, County of Monroe and State of New York for an election of Trustees pursuant to the public notice of the time when and place where given by the minister of said Congregation fifteen days and upwards before the day of said Election, that said notice was thus given for two Successive Sabbaths preceeding the day of Election, there being no elders or Church Wardens belonging to said Congregation, we the Subscribers, being two of the members of said Church and Congregation, were duly nominated by a Majority of the members present to preside at said Election and to do all the other acts then necessary, and we accordingly did thus preside:—

And further we certify that at said Election Bernard Klam, Ignatius Eichhorn, Frederick Menges, John Wackerman, Jacob Erdle, and Jacob Ringelstein were by plurality of voices duly Elected to serve as Trustees and their successors shall forever hereafter be called & Known by the name or title of Trustees of St. Mary's Church in Rochester, all which we certify under our hands and seals this seventh day of August, 1836.

IGNATIUS EICHHORN (L. S.)
JACOB C. ERDLE (L. S.)[15]

The next thing in order after the incorporation was a transfer of the church property by the three men who held it in trust for the congregation. This was done August 16, 1836, when Bernard Klame, J. Weggman and their respective wives, and Ignatius Eichhorn of the first part deeded the property to

the Trustees of St. Mary's Church in Rochester of the second part, "subject to mortgage to Henry H. Martin, dated December 7, 1835, and which mortgage it is understood the parties of the second part hereunto shall pay and discharge."[16] Financial worries did not trouble the Congregation long because of help received from Europe, for which Father Prost expressed his grateful thanks in the following letter to the Archbishop of Vienna:

Rochester, N. Y., July 12, 1837.

Your Grace:

I am not a little dumbfounded that the most Reverend Director of the Leopold Foundation should remember our little Congregation in America in so splendid a manner. The Rt. Rev. Bishop of New York, Monseigneur Dubois, has already received the remittance of 5,000 florins which Your Grace has been pleased to send for our use.

I cannot better express our heartfelt thanks than by assuring Your Grace in my own name and in the name of my confreres, that in the Holy Mass we shall never forget to pray for our pious and generous benefactors.

Never did assistance come at a more opportune moment. The financial crisis that has come upon America is already known in Austria, so I need not refer to it here in detail. The strongest business houses have failed, and the majority of the people is out of work, and in some cases in want of the necessary food.

Most of the Catholic Churches are heavily in debt. The church of the English-speaking Catholics here is in debt for $1400, and German Catholic Church for $1000. The time for liquidating these debts is now only a few weeks off, and if they are not paid on the appointed day, according to the laws in America, the churches without further process of law are lost and become the property of the creditors. Who shall pay these debts? The Catholics are mostly laboring people, and at present generally out of work, and in need of bread. From this quarter no help is to be expected. The government does not bother about these matters. One cannot borrow money, even if willing to pay twenty percent, so great is the stringency of the money-market.

In a short time, therefore, in Rochester, where there are four thousand Catholics and two fine Catholic Churches, we would be without a Church, if the Leopold Foundation had not put us in a position to save both churches.

I have already received $1000 of the 5000 florins remitted, and with this sum I have paid off the debt on our German Church here. The remainder, about $1400, the Rt. Rev. Bishop will send to me in a few days to pay the debt on the English church. Not ourselves, then, but the four thousand Catholics here raise our hands to heaven imploring God to repay our benefactors tenfold.

Comending ourselves again to the Most Reverend Directors of the Leopold Foundation, I am

Your Grace's
Most humble and obedient servant,
JOSEPH PROST, C. SS. R.[17]

According to the Minutes of the Proceedings of the Congregation and Board of Trustees of St. Patrick's Church, the Rochester Savings Bank, May 15, 1837, had demanded payment of $1400 due in three months from that date, and the Congregation, "in the present embarrassed state of the funds", had resolved to borrow $1000 from members of the Congregation with means on notes payable in one to two years. However, July 15, 1837, the mortgage on the Church was transferred from the Rochester Savings Bank to the Revd. Mr. Prost, Pastor of the German congregation in this city. While it took St. Patrick's Church several years to pay off the mortgage transferred to the German Pastor in 1837, he apparently had plenty of funds at his disposal.

Early that year, February 6, 1837, Father Prost had paid $1400 for lots 84 and 85 in the Atwater and Andrews tract, each four rods in front and in rear and ten rods in depth, containing one fourth of an acre of Land each.[18] The money also came from Europe; the Rt. Rev. Roman Sebastian Zaengerle, Bishop of Gratz, had sent him 6000 florins. Father Prost did not know "whether this was a personal donation of the prelate or the gift of an unknown benefactor . . . The offering was made to build a church in America in honor of St. Joseph, or at least to have an altar in honor of the Saint erected in such a church." The remainder of the money enabled Father Prost to purchase two lots in the vicinity of the Church on Ely Street,[19] lots 21 and 24 in the subdivision of the Ely Homestead. "In this way," he later declared, "I endeavored to make my money productive, as I could not trust the banks on account of the business panic. In case no House of the Redemptorists were established at Rochester, I could easily convert this property into cash with advantage; for the rapidly increasing population of the city raised the value of the land, and every day there were calls for houses and building lots."[20] The two lots were later deeded to William Buell of Lockport "in part payment for cut stone on St. Joseph's Church."[21]

Some parishioners may have wondered what was in the Pastor's head in making these purchases of real estate. His later account, though somewhat inexact as far as the incorporation of the Church was concerned, shows what his thoughts were. "The trustees, who had been elected, waited on me. It was agreed upon that I should have my rooms in the basement free of rent, and receive four hundred dollars salary from the revenue of the church. I clearly saw that I could easily get along here as pastor, but if a foundation of Redemptorists was to be undertaken, a different arrangement would be necessary. The congregation numbered at this time between 400 and 500 souls; they would need a priest, but not a community of Religious. In such an establishment, because unnecessary under the present condition, they would not be interested. I kept silent, therefore, concerning my plan." Whatever he may have thought of the trustee system at the time of his arrival in Rochester as pastor of the new German congregation, he did not refuse to cooperate in its organization, although it could not but prove an obstacle to his plans to vest the title of the property in his own religious society. The difficulty did not develop at once. In fact, the enthusiastic picture of the early religious life of the parish drawn by Father Prost himself hardly leaves anything else to be desired.

> The opening of the church was celebrated with great ceremony. I had with me a chalice and a set of vestments that I had taken on my trip from New York, and some few other necessary things that I had received from the Fathers. Joy beamed on every countenance. We had no organ, it is true, but the singing was beautiful. Six months later we secured a small organ and an organist, who also taught in the school. About three months after the opening, I procured a small monstrance from Montreal in Canada. Later still from Europe came a quantity of books of devotion and a beautiful picture of the Blessed Mother of God. The unveiling of this picture over the high altar filled all hearts with joy.
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> Every Saturday evening I recited the rosary with the people and gave Benediction. From the Rt. Bev. Bishop I received permission to say two Masses on Sundays; the first of these was at eight A. M., the second at ten thirty o'clock, the usual hour for church services in America. In America, the people usually went to confession on Saturday evening or Sunday morning before the early Mass. At this Mass they would go to Holy Communion, then go home for breakfast, and either return for the High Mass or let the

other members of the household come, so that all might assist at Mass. At ten o'clock on Sundays and feast-days I had the rosary said by some man of the congregation, the people responding. In the afternoon at three o'clock we had Vespers, Catechetical Instruction, and Benediction.

I took particular pains to foster in all a great devotion to the Blessed Mother of God. For this purpose I established the Confraternity of the Brown Scapular. In a special sermon I explained to the people the object of the Confraternity, the meaning of the Scapular of Mt. Carmel, and the graces to be obtained by wearing it devoutly. To make this devotion practical, I did not commute the prescribed abstinence from flesh meat on Wednesday and Saturdays to the seven Our Fathers, as is customary, but suggested instead monthly Confession and Communion and alms for the illumination and decoration of the altar. The reception of new members into the Confraternity always took place on a feast day of the Blessed Virgin, publicly in the Church, and before the parish Mass. During this Mass the faithful received Holy Communion, and at the offertory they offered wax candles for the altar. Through this public solemnity, and by avoiding every shadow of secrecy, a certain prestige was given to the proceedings, so that the members of the Confraternity, men and women, felt a pride in wearing the Scapular publicly while presenting their candles and receiving Holy Communion on these occasions, nor would they remove it until they were leaving the church. The frequentation of the Sacraments grew hereby to such an extent, that in my little congregation I had more people going to confession than many a pastor who had a parish of as many thousands as I had hundreds. Through the offerings of the Confraternity we received such a quantity of linens and candles for the altar that there was no necessity for the priest purchasing them. Moreover, several members of the Confraternity banded together and had a Mass said every Sunday to obtain the grace of a happy death.

With all this fervor and enthusiasm, sittings in the church were soon at a premium. Indeed the pew-rent and offertory collections were so considerable that the Church was able not only to pay the pastor's salary, but likewise to pay off in a short time a large part of the debt. Frequently I had conferences for the adults twice a week in the schoolroom. Nearly every family was supplied with the necessary religious books for home reading. These books I had sent from Europe. The people made me presents of fire-wood and vegetables. The Trustees were upright and trustworthy men, who were always docile to their priest's wishes. The English-speaking priests and the Bishop were astonished that such things could be accomplished among the Germans, and that in Rochester the Germans even surpassed the Irish.[23]

Bishop Dubois saw what had been accomplished with his own eyes in the summer of 1837. According to Father Prost's

account, "it was about this time that the Rt. Rev. Bishop of New York came to Rochester on his Visitation and Confirmation tour. He was much pleased with everything that had been done here; he dedicated our Church in honor of St. Joseph—until now we had permission only to use the place for service,—sang Pontifical High Mass twice for us, and administered the Sacrament of Confirmation. I had to accompany the Bishop to Buffalo and the other German Congregation in the vicinity to preach to them in his name, as he spoke only French and English. After this trip I had to go to New York to take part in the celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the priesthood of Bishop Dubois."[24] It was during this visit to Rochester that the Bishop proposed to put Father Raffeiner in charge of St. Joseph's with Dansville, which had been visited for the first time by Father Prost August 9 and 10, 1836, as an outmission. This was on condition that the Redemptorists would take charge of the German Catholics in New York and also conduct a diocese seminary there. The arrangement would end the difference existing between Father Raffeiner and his people, which Father Prost had tried to settle in vain in two visits to New York; it would also settle the more important problem of the diocesan Seminary. However, the Redemptorist Vicar General in Europe decided that the direction of seminaries was opposed to the purpose of the Congregation and forbidden by Rule.[25] When Father Prost was joined by Father Czackert early in 1838, he thought the time had come to reveal the plans he had conceived for the establishment of a Redemptorist foundation in Rochester.

> I would have been able to build, if I could have relied on sufficient assistance from Europe, but this hope I did not have. The Leopold foundation had sent us several thousand dollars to Detroit, not one cent of which did I ever receive. Quite recently I had received from the same source a large remittance. I had purchased the ground for the site of the church for a very low figure. There yet remained the erection of the church and house. I saw, therefore, or at least I thought I saw, that I could not carry out my plans without help from the people.
>
> The church would have to be built, not for the exigencies of the present, but with an eye to the future. But if a church were erected larger than the present requirements called for, the pewrents would decline, and thus I should take in less in the larger church than we were getting in the smaller one. To run into debt in the existing

condition of things would be a dangerous proceeding. They were charging seven percent interest in New York in those days. All these considerations led me to the conclusion that the help of the people would be indispensable. I did not doubt for an instant that the parishioners would accept my proposition. But in over-anxiety to be prudent, I wanted to make assurance doubly sure.

I also wanted to induce my confreres at Norwalk to give their vote in favor of Rochester as the site of our foundation, for Very Rev. Father Passerat had directed that in the selection of the place for the establishment of our first community a majority of votes should decide.

I announced to the congregation, therefore, that I intended to build a church on our property in Franklin Street, and to hold services for them there. They could keep the present church, which they should convert into a school, as there was no building for this purpose in Rochester at the time. This announcement was not received in the manner I had expected. Among many it caused no little discussion, among the party of opposition complaints and objections.[26]

The Redemptorists outside of Rochester also objected to Father Prost's project, as the congregation was too small, and the conditions not favorable, therefore, to a foundation.[27] The malcontents in the Parish were bitterly opposed to building the church on Franklin Street, with the title of the Church property vested in the Redemptorists and not in the Congregation.[28] Finally, Father Prost went to New York, and proposed to Bishop Hughes, as Bishop Dubois was incapacitated at the time by a stroke of paralysis, that the Redemptorists be given charge of St. Louis Church in Buffalo, where the congregation was large enough to guarantee sufficient support even in case of trouble with some malcontents amongst the parishioners. Bishop Hughes had no authority to make the change suggested, and Father Prost returned to Rochester.[29] Here he transferred, May 21, 1838, the Franklin Street and Ely Homestead properties to Father Czackert.[30] Father Prost must have left Rochester towards the end of May, as his last entry in the Baptism Record is dated May 27th. The remaining Redemptorist Father continued his ministry in the Parish till the middle of the month of August, when he also abandoned the German Church and Congregation.[31] No doubt, these Catholics found it hard to be deprived of the ministration of a German priest and to be dependent upon the services of Father Bernard O'Reilly, no matter how willing and zealous he was to save their souls.

Chapter V

LIGHTS AND SHADOWS

Although Henry O'Reilly's *Sketches of Rochester,* published after May 1, 1838, contain but little information regarding things Catholic, some interesting details of the organization of St. Patrick's parish are given in the book. Father O'Reilly was evidently bent on thorough instruction in religion, also outside of the pulpit. The statistics printed with his Thanksgiving sermon of December 15, 1836, by Tryon Edwards, Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, show that St. Patrick's Sunday School comprised 60 teachers, 300 pupils, and 250 volumes in the Library.[1] This was the fruit produced by the Constitution of the Christian Doctrine Society, established at St. Patrick's Church, Rochester, N. Y., by the Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, July 12, 1835.

Art. 1. The principal object of this Society is, the instruction of youth, in the Christian Doctrine,—reading will be taught to such as circumstances may prevent from obtaining such instruction elsewhere.

Art. 2. This Society will embrace a male and female department, each department will be governed by a President, Vice-President, and Secretary, elected by its respective members on Pentecost Sunday, in each year.

Art. 3. It will be the duty of the President, in each department, to classify the children, and give their names to the Secretary, whose duty it will be to register them in a book kept by him for that purpose.

Art. 4. It will be the duty of the Teachers to attend to the class assigned them, until otherwise directed by the President. They will attend punctually during class hours, viz: from 9 o'clock until half past 10 A. M., and from 2 until 3 o'clock, P. M.

Art. 5. It will be the duty of the Teachers to assign, to their pupils at the afternoon-class of each Sunday, a portion of the Catechism for the following Sunday, and rigidly to require the portion assigned them; they will also invariably report to the President, on each Sunday, the idle, as also the absent.

Art. 6. The members of the Society will endeavor to know whether the children in their respective neighborhoods attend to catechism,—they will speak to the parents of such as do not attend

Carroll St. is suppressed, and State St. continued to Buffalo St. No. 22, corner Market and State Sts., is the Mansion House Hotel, where St. Patrick's Parish was organized July 12, 1820. No. 35 on South Ave., a Methodist church, was sold to Catholics, Feb. 22, 1833, who made it St. Mary's Church, but sold it again Feb. 14, 1835. It was reoccupied by Methodists. Catholics bought it again Nov. 14, 1841, when it became St. Mary's (Irish) Church. No. 27 on Platt St., corner Frank St., is St. Patrick's Church, and No. 34 on Ely St. is St. Joseph's Church.

on the propriety of sending their children. When this advice is not complied with, the names of the parents must be immediately reported to the Pastor.

Art. 7. The Society will meet regularly on the last Sunday in each month—at this meeting the ordinary business of the Society will be transacted, and the teachers for the ensuing month appointed. The appointment of teachers will be invariably by the President.

Art. 8. The Secretary will keep a book in which he will register the names of the members, with the date of their admission, and also the resolutions passed at the regular and special meetings of the Society.

Art. 9. It will be the duty of the members, to attend at the regular and special meetings of the Society. At each meeting the Secretary will call over the names of the members, and note down the absent. When a member is found to have absented himself for two successive meetings, it will be the duty of the Secretary to state this fact to the President, and that of the President to state to the Society, that unless a satisfactory excuse be given by the absent member at the next meeting, his name at that meeting must be erased from register of the Society.

Art 10. It will be the duty of a member compelled to absent himself for a time, or about to remove from the congregation, to signify the same to the Secretary, who will report it to the Society. Members complying with this rule, will not lose their right of Membership, and will participate in the prayers and masses offered for the Society.

Art. 11. It will be the duty of each member to edify by a truly christian conduct, and avoid that society which practically contemns the injunctions of religion.

Art. 12. It will be the duty of each member to receive, with the approbation of his Confessor, "Holy Communion," on the first Sunday in each month: non-compliance with this article for two successive months, will authorize the Society to come to the determination of erasing the member's name from the register of the Society; the Society will not consider a member guilty of a violation of this article until informed by the Pastor, whose duty it will be to report at the expiration of the time above stated, the names of the members violating this article.

Art. 13. The members shall be regular in their morning and evening devotions, and shall say during the course of each day, one "OUR FATHER," and "HAIL MARY," for the other members; they will cherish great devotion to the adorable sacrament of the altar, with that brotherly union, which will prompt them to assist each other in their spiritual and temporal necessities.

Art. 14. On the death of a member, the rest of the Society shall, on the first Sunday of the month, offer up their communions for the repose of his or her soul; they will as early as possible have three masses offered for the same end; they shall also offer up one com-

munion and have one mass offered in each year, for the repose of the souls of the deceased members.

Art. 15. On the first Sunday of each month the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass will be offered up for the spiritual welfare of the members of the Society, and also for the same end, on the anniversary day of the establishment of the Society; the members shall consider it their duty to attend punctually to these masses.

Art. 16. This Society will be placed under the special patronage of the "Blessed Virgin," a powerful advocate before God, for such as beg her intercession; it will be the duty of each member to recite once in each month the litany of the B. V. for the purpose of soliciting her intercession in behalf of the spiritual welfare of the members of the Society.

Art. 17. To obtain admittance hereafter into this Society, application must be made through a member of the Society, who can conscientiously recommend the person postulating, as worthy to be admitted; the person postulating must be able to present to the Society a certificate from the Pastor of the church in his favor. Applicants are to be admitted members but at the meeting which will succeed that on which they have been recommended.

Art. 18. Each member, on admission, will pay into the Treasury of the Society, 25 cents, and afterwards, 12½ cents per month, which shall be appropriated to the purchasing of books, and defraying other lawful expenses incurred by the Society.

Art. 19. Persons, applying for admission into this Society, should allow no motive to influence them, save a desire to promote the "Glory of God," their own sanctification, and the religious instruction of the rising generation.

Art. 20. If an officer should resign, or be absent for the space of three months, his place shall be filled by another regularly elected, whose term of office shall expire at the usual time appointed for the annual election.

Art. 21. The Pastor of this Church shall have the chief direction of the Society; he will give his opinion on all matters regarding the well-being of the Society, when he may deem it advisable; he will be as the soul, animating the whole body, by his zeal for the spiritual and temporal welfare of each of its members.[2]

Like Father McNamara, Father Bernard O'Reilly was also interested in the Temperance Movement. He believed in organizing a Society to promote the movement amongst his own people, and so he was one of the principal agents in founding the *Hibernian Temperance Society*, of which he, in fact, was President. According to Henry O'Reilly in 1838, "this Society is exercising a cheering influence and may be made productive of still more flattering results."[3] Two years later the *Rochester Daily Advertiser* noted the formation of the

"*Rochester Hibernian Total Abstinence Society* . . . ., under the superintendence of the Rev. Mr. O'Reilly, whose devotedness to the cause of temperance is well known to our citizens."

> Sunday last, [July 5, 1840], having been previously appointed for that purpose, over fifty individuals took the pledge in the Church in the most solemn and impressive manner. This is a noble beginning, and we have no doubt but that our Roman Catholic citizens will be unanimous in this great and good undertaking. The society is calculated to reflect the highest credit not only on its benevolent founder, but on all its members—having for its object the *thoro' and complete* extermination of intemperance by requiring *total* abstinence from all intoxicating drinks, under whatever name they may be dealt out. Each person on becoming a member is furnished with a very handsome card, bearing the name of the society, and the date of its formation, together with the pledge and a certificate of his membership signed by the President.
>
> The Pledge reads as follows: "I promise to abstain from all intoxicating drinks, &c., except used medically and by order of a medical man, and to discountenance the cause and practice of intemperance."[4]

All this did not prevent Father O'Reilly from taking part, with his own Society, in a General Temperance Meeting at the Court House in Rochester, Monday evening, April 26, 1841. The affair was arranged between the *Hibernian Temperance Society* and the *Young Men's Temperance Society*, "the two societies lately founded" for total, not partial temperance. The Rev. Bernard O'Reilly was chosen President; Dr. James Webster, Alderman I. F. Mack, C. H. Watts, O. N. Bush, Cornelius Fielding, and John F. O'Donoghue were appointed Vice-Presidents; the Secretaries were William W. Brewster, J. B. Clarke, and Dr. Bradley. The Rev. Mr. O'Reilly delivered an appropriate and eloquent address on taking the Chair, after which resolutions were passed to promote total abstinence from intoxicating drinks.[5]

This was not the only instance in which Catholics, under the leadership of Father Bernard O'Reilly, united forces with others to promote a good work. Evidence of this is furnished by the following extract from the Annual Report made to the *Young Men's Association* in November, 1838, by its Corresponding Secretary of the time, Dr. De Forest:

> To the Hibernian Society particularly is the Association indebted for the aid which, with the prompt liberality characteristic of their

country's sons, they lent to the collection of a Library, at a time when the success of that effort [for the establishment of the City Library] seemed most problematical.

The manner, in which this donation was made, may be inferred from the following notice.

Aid to Form a City Library in Rochester. Young Men's Association.—The Board of Directors of the Young Men's Association take the liberty to publish the following communication, as the best means within their power of acknowledging the liberal donation which accompanied it:—

ROCHESTER CITY LIBRARY

Whereas, It is customary among the people of various lands to commemorate on certain days of each year the most interesting events in the annals of their respective countries: And

Whereas, Portions of those, who are attached by birth or ancestry to the Irish nation, have usually in Rochester as elsewhere testified that attachment by annual festivals, commemorative of the exertions of the Christian Apostle, through whose instrumentality Ireland was in ancient time largely benefited by the blessings of knowledge and religion: And

Whereas, It seems to be most in accordance with the character and services of the enlightened Christian Missionary, that the anniversary of St. Patrick should be commemorated, not by the sensual gratification of the banqueting hall, but by *"the feast of reason and the flow of soul"* which result from the contemplation and dissemination of the *intellectual light* which guided that eminent Apostle amid the gloom of heathenism,

It is, therefore, agreed, by the undersigned, that, in lieu of the usual mode of commemorating the anniversary of St. Patrick, they will combine to form a collection of works of those distinguished personages, whose virtues and talents have shed lustre on the Irish nation, notwithstanding the ignorance and other evils entailed upon a portion of that nation by the accumulated wrongs inflicted by long continued misgovernment. And it is further agreed that the collection thus formed be presented to the Association of the Young Men of Rochester to aid them in their endeavors for forming a City Library—the benefits of which to be diffused as far as practicable, without reference to clime, creed, or profession of the Young Men, who may apply for its advantages.

It is further agreed that the books thus accumulated shall be termed the *"Hibernian Collection,"* and that our exertions shall be used as long as practicable to increase the number of volumes by annual donations—as a testimonial, however feeble, of our earnest desire to promote the welfare of this Republic, while cherishing a proper regard for the land of our birth or ancestors.

With these views, we present our contributions to the proposed City Library, and respectfully ask the cooperation of others who are actuated by similar motives.

Rochester, March, 1838.

LOUIS KENNING

First Redemptorist layman brother received in U. S. A.; first parochial school teacher in Rochester, succeeded by a layman, Francis Walter, of whom no picture was obtained.

VENERABLE J. N. NEUMANN, D. D.

As a secular priest in the Niagara district, 1836-1840, he repeatedly came to minister to Rochester Catholic Germans; first Redemptorist priest professed in U. S. A.; fourth bishop of Philadelphia, 1852-1860. His process of beatification is pending at Rome.

JOHN S. RAFFEINER, V. G.

Father Raffeiner, the Apostle of the German Catholics throughout New York, New Jersey, and New England, with authority from Bishops Dubois and Hughes, arrived in New York, January, 1833, and died in Brooklyn in 1861. At Rochester he promoted the establishment of the first German Catholic Church and made peace in the second one.

The foregoing paper was signed by the Rev. B. O'Reilly, Alderman John Allen, Alderman Joseph Alleyn, Mr. P. Kearney, Mr. Samuel Hamilton, Henry O'Reilly, and Dr. Hugh Bradley.

Published by order of the Directors of the Young Men's Association.

E. S. WARNER, Secretary.[6]

While Catholics thus helped to build up a City Library for the community at large, they also tried to provide special educational facilities for their own children. Henry O'Reilly's *Sketches of Rochester* mention, in fact, a parochial school attached to the German church in charge of the Rev. Joseph Prost. There were about 50 scholars in this school, "wherein the English as well as the German is taught."[7] Its first teacher was the first postulant for the Redemptorist Lay-brotherhood in America, Louis Kenning, whom Father Prost received in Rochester, November 2, 1836. When he was sent to Norwalk, May 22, 1837, his place in the school was taken by a layman, Mr. Francis Walter. Henry O'Reilly's work does not, however, mention a parochial school in St. Patrick's parish, as it was not organized till the year following the publication of his book, although the Trustees and Congregation under Father McNamara had resolved in 1832 to establish a school in the basement of the new Church. No doubt, the troubles leading to and following the interdict placed upon St. Patrick's Church by Bishop Dubois postponed its accomplishment. At all events, the minutes of the Board of Trustees, which after years of intermission began to function again as before upon an election held October 26, 1835, noted payments early in January and August, 1839, for mason and carpenter work done to get the school room in the basement of the Church ready for use. The Trustees then resolved, September 2, 1839, to rehire Michael Hughes, who had been sexton since 1835, "for Six Months at One hundred Dollars pr year on condition of his undertaking to teach the children of the Congregation on the terms which shall be proposed to him by the Rev. Mr. O'Reilly and two other members of the Congregation who will form a Committee for said purpose." A satisfactory arrangement was not reached at once. For, in the Trustee Meeting, November 4, 1839, "it was resolved, in consequence of the Statement of the Revd. Mr. O'Reilly, that the remuneration received by the teacher of the School in the

basement of the Church from the Scholars was very small, that the collection taken up on the first Sunday in each month till the 1st of March shall be at the disposal of the Pastor to be appropriated to the education of the Children in the Congregation." This was only a temporary measure, but no other support for the school was voted by the Board of Trustees until December 5, 1841, when "an agreement was entered into with Kelly to act as Sexton for Church and teach the School in the Basement for a year from 1st November last for Three Hundred Dollars." The successor of Michael Hughes did not even receive this sum for a whole year; for the minutes of the Trustee Meeting, April 10, 1842, state that "it was resolved that the Salary, Two Hundred Dollars a year, to be paid the Sexton for teaching School, be withdrawn from 1st Inst."[9] If this left the school financially crippled, it must have sorely worried Father Bernard O'Reilly, who, no doubt, had already formed the convictions which, as Bishop of Hartford, he repeatedly inserted in the report of his diocese, printed in the *Catholic Almanac:* "It is to be hoped that in a little time every congregation in the diocese will have its school. If we wish to save the rising generation to religion and God, we will, even at a sacrifice, give them a thorough Catholic education; nothing short of this will protect youth against error and save them to religion."[10]

The revived Board of Trustees at St. Patrick's Church, despite financial trouble, also provided a place of burial. The first Catholic Cemetery had been the church-yard so that some graves had to be removed to make room for the new and larger Church in 1832. However, it was not until June 6, 1836, that the Trustees appointed a committee "to select a lot of ground suitable for a burying place for the use of the Members of the Catholic Inhabitants of Rochester and its vicinity." Nothing came of this, and the next year, December 4, 1837, another committee was appointed "to purchase from the Common Council four acres of the burying ground on the Henrietta Road", and to confer with the Trustees of the German Congregation, as "a Deputation of their body . . . . . expressed a wish to purchase a lot adjoining". Again nothing was actually accomplished in the matter. It was taken up, however, in earnest the following year at a meeting of the Congregation, December 9, 1838, when the Pastor, the Rever-

MARGARET L. HUGHES

MICHAEL HUGHES

Pioneer Catholic teachers, the grandparents of Father A. Hughes, came to Rochester by canal packet, July 1, 1835. She taught school in Dr. Bradley's house, N. St. Paul St., and in her own home, 23 Erie St., etc. He taught day school at Mt. Read and night school in the city. He was the first teacher in St. Patrick's basement school, where he was succeeded by Mr. Kelly, of whom no picture was obtainable. The Hughes family migrated to Canada in 1842, returning in 1848. She kept boarders, taught evening school in old No. 1 on King St., etc. In the Civil War, he enlisted together with three of his sons. Captured Dec. 13, 1862, he was confined in Libby Prison, from which he was freed by an exchange of prisoners. He reenlisted, becoming a nurse in the U. S. A. General Hospital, Elmira, N. Y. He died at St. Mary's Hospital, at the age of 75, Dec. 5, 1874.

PATRICK QUINN

Patrick Quinn was born in Collooney, Ireland, Jan. 3, 1797, and died in Rochester, N. Y., Feb. 11, 1885. He was a land surveyor in Ireland, from which he emigrated to America. He taught school, after Mr. Kelly, in St. Patrick's basement from 1843 to 1848. As a contractor he amassed a fortune in construction work on the Erie Canal before he retired from business.

end Bernard O'Reilly, and others expressed their conviction "that a Burial Ground was, under existing circumstances, indispensably necessary—and hoped that one would be purchased as soon as possible." All now entertained the same views, and so it was unanimously resolved "that this meeting is convinced of the propriety and necessity of having a burial Ground for the exclusive use of the Catholic population of this City and Vicinity." When there was then made known the proposition from Mr. Richard Christie to the Board of Trustees for the sale of a ten acre lot—adjoining the City line near the Pinnacle, the purchase was likewise unanimously authorized "at one hundred dollars pr acre to be appropriate as may be found necessary to that purpose." The officers of the Board of Trustees were able to report to it, at a special meeting, April 12, 1839, that the purchase had been made on the terms agreed upon, but the Congregation did not meet until August 25, 1839, to make final arrangements for the use of the Cemetery. Although an effort was then made to retain "in the hands of the Pastor and Trustees of the Congregation and their successors the right of preventing the interment of the remains of persons who are denied by the Church the right of burial in consecrated ground", the motion to that effect was withdrawn after some discussion. However, a Committee was appointed to work in union with the Trustees, and together they adopted the following regulations, August 28, 1839:

> The Burial lots shall be sold at Ten Dollars each; three Dollars at the time of sale, three Dollars in Six & Four in twelve months; the two last payments to be secured by Promissory Notes.
>
> The charge for permission to bury a single corpse shall be two dollars.
>
> Destitute persons or persons, whose relatives are unable to pay for permission to bury, shall be allowed burial on the certificate of inability to pay, signed by the Clergyman or two of the Trustees.
>
> The Sexton, to be appointed, shall be entitled to charge one Dollar for Digging each grave.

Not all the land was needed for St. Patrick's Cemetery at the time, and so the Trustees of the German Catholic Congregation proposed to purchase a portion of it. The Trustees of St. Patrick's Church, however, resolved unanimously, November 29, 1839: "As the land for the burying ground was

purchased for the use of the Catholic population of Rochester and its vicinity without distinction of Country, we, therefore, do not consider ourselves warranted in being parties of the opening of a second Catholic Burying ground without the approbation of the Bishop who is now absent from the Diocese on a visit to Europe." This action did not prove a financial help. For, the Congregation had to recognize in a meeting, May 3, 1840, "that, in the present state of our Church, it is inexpedient to retain more of the land lately purchased than will, in a reasonable time, be required for a cemetery." The Congregation, therefore, recommended "the sale of all that portion of the said lot of land, with the house thereon, as lies west of the Road leading from the Canal Locks, and also the Southeast angle of the same, containing about quarter of an acre, lying South of the Vision Road leading to Henrietta." No sale, however, was made for two years. Finally, Mr. Hagaman proposed to purchase the small angle of land South of the Vision Road, which adjoined his own property, at the rate of One Hundred Dollars per acre, and so the Secretary and Treasurer of the Board were instructed, May 1, 1842, "to have the same surveyed and a deed perfected in the names of the Trustees." The next year, August 31, 1843, Bernard Klem deeded a piece of ground from his farm, near East Main and Goodman Street, as a cemetery for the German Catholics, whose dead, up to this donation, had been mostly interred in the municipal burial ground. Meanwhile, other important developments had taken place.

The German Catholics had been without a pastor almost a year, when a notice appeared in the *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, August 2, 1839, announcing that "the Right Rev. Dr. Hughes, Co-adjutor Bishop of New York, will, in St. Patrick's Church, on next Sunday, administer the Sacrament of Confirmation at 1.2 past 7 o'clock, and preach at 10 A. M." The notice on the next day added that "a collection will be taken up for finishing the interior of the church." It was precisely in this month of August that Archbishop Eccleston arrived in New York from Rome with instructions to transfer the administration of the diocese from Bishop Dubois to Bishop Hughes because of the old Bishop's increasing incapacity from sickness, mental and physical. Now Bishop Hughes had authority, and his observations at Rochester determined him

Painted by Healey

John Hughes.

Fourth Bishop of New York.
Coadjutor 1838-1842; Bishop 1842-1850
First Archbishop of New York, 1850-1864.

to fill the vacancy in the pastorate of St. Joseph's Church. Father Neumann, the future Redemptorist and saintly Bishop of Philadelphia, then the apostle of the Niagara Region, had visited Rochester as early as the summer of 1836, and his name appears quite frequently later as the minister of the Sacrament in St. Joseph's Book of Baptisms.[11] He was considered a good priest for this post, and there was actually question of transferring him to Rochester, when a three months' fever left him very weak, but he refused in these words: "It will be easy to get a priest for Rochester; but very difficult to find one for my district. Indeed, if I fail, it will be necessary to find two."[12] Finally, Rev. Clement Hammer, a secular priest, who later became pastor of St. Mary's Church, Cincinnati, was sent to take charge of St. Joseph's, Rochester. When he arrived there, he found a Redemptorist Father in possession. Father Saenderl had come just one day sooner. His name first occurs in the Record of Baptisms, September 23, 1839. When Father Prost made use of the extended powers granted him directly by the Rector Major of the Redemptorists, and erected canonically the first foundation of the community at Pittsburg the following month, he summoned all the Fathers and Brothers thither, but he was careful not to call Father Saenderl from Rochester, as he wished him to remain there and hold the place for the Redemptorists.[13]

New arrangements were made for the opening of the school according to a notice in the *Rochester Daily Advertiser*. This announced a "School for Misses and Boys.—Miss Donald, late of Albany proposes opening a school for Boys and Girls, on Monday, Sept. 30, at the German Catholic Church, east side of the river, in which will be taught the usual branches of English education, such as Reading, Writing, Grammar, Arithmetic, Geography, Rhetoric, Philosophy, Ancient and Modern History, Botany, &c. Needle work will also be taught. Terms: $1.50 to $2.50 per quarter, payable when the quarter has half expired."[14] The notice appeared in the last week of September, and continued to appear throughout the first half of October. It was not till the year of 1841, that Brother Aloysius Schuh came to Rochester to take charge of the Redemptorist house and school, where he taught until the end of 1844.[15]

The year 1841 also brought other changes. The Reverend Alexander Czvitkovicz, on his arrival in America, March 7, 1841, took Father Prost's place as Superior of the Redemptorists, and appointed Father Czakert as Superior of Pittsburg.[16] Father Prost then came to Rochester for a few months in autumn.

> The Catholics of Rochester were greatly pleased to see me in their midst once more. If they only knew how I now returned to them! They thought I came to build the new church. Rev. Father Alexander had been here but a short time before, and the people were not only willing to aid us in building the new church for ourselves but to transfer to us the old church, that we might do with it as we pleased.
>
> Father Alexander came to gather the fruits. That was easy. But he should have remembered that there are no harvests without labor, as there are no roses without thorns.
>
> Scarcely had I turned my back on Pittsburg, and come to Rochester, when I began to feel like myself again. My peace of mind returned, and with it, strength. But this rest was of short duration.
>
> Although the German Catholics in Rochester wished to transfer to the Redemptorists the old church together with all money on hand, there existed, nevertheless, two parties or factions. The one party wished to transfer everything unconditionally to the Fathers; the other would do so only with the proviso, quite unobjectionable in itself, with which the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer should have to comply, even if it had not been expressed.
>
> The condition was that, in case the Redemptorists should leave Rochester and sell their property, they should pay back to the parish of St. Joseph's the lowest estimate of what the present old church was worth. If the Fathers would accept this condition, they could dispose of the old church and ground as they pleased. In order that no quarrel might arise concerning this amount, they proposed to have the present valuation of the church and ground determined, take the lowest estimates, and this should be the amount the Fathers should return to St. Joseph's parish in case they left Rochester.[17]

The title to the Church and ground was not transferred to the Redemptorists, but remained in possession of the Trustees of St. Mary's Church, who later sold this property to Bishop Timon for fifty dollars.[18] Twelve men, living on the west side of the River, in fact, voted against the Redemptorist plans in a public meeting of the congregation, to which the church question was submitted. The decision of the great majority, however, resulted in a re-organization of the parish,

which is clearly indicated in the following minutes of the trustees.

Rochester, September 2, 1841.

Present: John Wegman, Bernard Klem, Peter Meyer, Sebastian Zeug, Joseph Voegle.

XAVIER MASSET, Treasurer
GERALD KENNING, Secretary.

After due discussion the following resolution was taken:

First: All money in the treasury, as also the future income of St. Joseph's Church, formerly known as St. Mary's, shall be handed over to the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, for the purpose of erecting a new church for the German Catholic congregation. These sums shall not be expended for any other object. Also the proposed building shall be begun and carried on to completion as soon as possible.

At a meeting, September 6th, it was resolved to hand over to the Rev. Father Saenderl the amount of money on hand, and to entrust the construction of the church to him. Rev. Father Saenderl acknowledged the receipt of the money and accepted the charge confided to him, as witness his and our signatures.

SEBASTIAN ZEUG	SIMON SAENDERL
BERNARD KLEM	
JOHN WEGMAN	
PETER MEYER	GERHARD KENNING,
XAVIER MASSET	Secretary.

The following is the balance sheet presented with the money on this occasion:

Cash on hand, August 1st, 1841	$528.49
Offertory collection, Aug. 8th-Nov. 7th,	83.52
Pew-rent, Aug. 8th-Nov. 7th,	326.70
	938.71
Expenses, August 1st, 1841, to Nov. 8th,	337.64
Balance on hand[19]	601.07

Redemptorist activity in preparing to build St. Joseph's Church was duly noted when Bishop Hughes communicated a brief sketch of his observations during the episcopal visitation to the *Freeman's Journal,* under date of October 23, 1841. It gives a vivid picture of the state of Catholicism in this district of his extensive diocese.

From Salina the next station was Auburn, where I had not time to make such delay as I could have wished. The congregation here is very small, and does not appear to increase. It is visited but

once a month by the pastor, who has to attend to two other congregations, those of Seneca Falls and Geneva. In this mission, the only increase at present apparent is on the congregation of Seneca Falls. This is to be accounted for principally by the encouragement there afforded for manual employment, and the inducements which extensive improvements going on in that neighborhood hold out to mechanics and laborers.

The church at Geneva has, however, had but little prosperity. It has now been erected ten years, yet the number of Catholics connected with it now are not greater than they were at the time of its erection. The state of the pecuniary affairs of this church may be quoted as an instance of that mismanagement which is but too general, unfortunately for the interests of our religion and people. This church was originally constructed at a cost of about $2,000, of which $1,200 were raised by subscription and paid at the time. Since then we are not aware of any improvements requiring further expenditure having been made, yet, strange as it may appear, the church now stands indebted to the amount of nearly $3,000—a sum double its actual value! The management of the affairs of this church has been in the hands of persons appointed in the ordinary way as trustees, whose intentions have doubtless been good, but who have, nevertheless, been so unhappy in accomplishing their designs as to present the unfortunate results just stated. There can be no doubt that some measures are absolutely essential to correct the evils of the present system of managing church property. The idea has been extensively cherished, that the clergy of the Catholic Church should not interfere in the management of its temporal concerns. For my part, I believe the idea has been the cause of much detriment to religion, both as regards its spiritual progress and the temporal means that are dedicated to its support; for the consequence has been that the clergy have naturally declined all interference. They have not chosen to incur fatigue, labor, annoyance, which would earn for them, not the gratitude of those apparently most interested, but which would bring down their censure. And yet it has been found that these same clergymen, who are not deemed competent to have even a voice in the distribution or economy of the church funds have always been looked to as the persons whose duty it was to provide these funds. But on themselves, the effect has been that they have become less interested in proportion as they were deprived of their rights of interference and power of doing good.

The trustees of this church were enabled to show to their own satisfaction how the strange accumulation of debt has been effected, but I confess that I could not comprehend the explanation. But neither do I entertain for one moment any other opinion than that persons had undertaken a task, for which they have been by no means qualified, and without intending to mismanage the affairs of

the church, that those affairs have been most unaccountably mismanaged. The very lot, or rather one of the two lots on which the church stands, and which had been paid for years ago, was allowed to remain so implicated in the general property of the individual of whom the original purchase was made, that it became subject to sale by a mortage held by him. This lot was actually permitted to be sold, and now the additional sum of $250 will be required for its release. This is, perhaps, a strong case in illustration of the evils of a system which requires correction . . . It is most important for the Catholics that a more concise and responsible mode of managing the temporal affairs of their churches than that which has hitherto prevailed should be introduced.

The short period of time that I was permitted to spend at Geneva was necessarily occupied in examining into this melancholy state of the temporal affairs of that church, and as my engagements required my presence at Rochester on the following Sunday, it was not in my power to meet the assembled congregation of Geneva.

There is, perhaps, no city or town in the Diocese, in which there is a prospect of a more permanent increase in the members of the Catholic Communion than in Rochester. There are at present two churches, both large and commodious. For those who speak the English language, the erection of an additional church has been deemed of pressing necessity, and measures have been taken for that purpose; whilst the number of German Catholics in and about Rochester equally require that new provision should be made for their accommodation. Accordingly, two respectable members of the Ligorian Society, who have at present charge of the congregation, have purchased ground, and are making arrangements for the erection of a new church suited to the wants of the people. It may be remarked that Rochester was one of the first cities to introduce the principle of the temperance association. Long before it had been spoken of in any Catholic congregation in this country, and even before it had been taken up by Father Mathew in Ireland, it had been introduced in the congregation of the Rev. Mr. O'Reilly of Rochester with the happiest effects which are still visible. Besides these congregations already established, the large and increasing numbers of Canadian and French Catholics in Rochester and its neighborhood encourage them to solicit the presence of a clergyman who could speak to them in their own language. It is not in my power at present to send them one; nevertheless, their good dispositions and zealous efforts shall not be forgotten, and as soon as the opportunity offers of engaging for them a clergyman of their own nation, it shall certainly be taken advantage of for that purpose.

Seven miles from Rochester is the township of Greece, settled to a very considerable extent by Catholics. They have not had at all times the undivided attention of any clergyman, although one of the first measures adopted by them after the settlement in the place

was to secure the erection of a neat and appropriate church, in which now they have regular service every Sunday. The members of this congregation are for the most part agriculturists, some of them owning highly improved plantations, and all other possessing some portion at least of the soil on which they reside. During my visit, and at their pressing invitation to have a clergyman permanently residing amongst them, I appointed as their pastor the Rev. Denis Kelly.

It will be seen by these hasty remarks that my time did not allow me to visit the many interesting and important congregations, which are in the neighborhood of all these principal stations, both between Geneva and Rochester, and the later place and Lockport. Not only on the main route, but also back from it, there are many scattered members of our Communion, cut off unhappily by their isolated position from enjoying the consolations of the public exercise of religion.[20]

The party of malcontents in St. Joseph's parish did not become reconciled to the Redemptorists plans, and in the Winter eleven German Roman Catholics met at the house of Mr. Masseth to consider the possibility of building a Roman Catholic Church on the West side of the River. They sent Mr. Sebastian Zeug to New York to obtain the requisite permission to build from Bishop Hughes. This was readily granted in writing, but on the condition that the Rev. Pastor, Simon Saenderl, give his consent.[21] The latter permitted these Catholics to organize a meeting, which was held in School House No. 1, with Mr. Schweizer as Chairman and Mr. Zeug as Secretary. The following resolution was unanimously adopted.

Rochester, Feb. 23, 1842.

We, the undersigned, hereby declare by our signaturees, that we jointly and severally agree and bind ourselves to furnish the materials towards building a German Catholic Church on the West side of the Genesee River, which Church shall be erected on the corner of King and Maple Streets.

Seb. Zeug, Xavier Masseth, John Kiefer, Joseph Berderl, Geo. Grenzinger, B. Erhard, Sim. Sailer, Jo. Kessler, M. Gerber, H. Kondolf, S. C. Brayer, Mich. Kunz, Jac. Kunz, Sen., J. Wackermann, Joseph Fogle, Anth. Lerch, J. Bauer, J. A. Glaser, W. B. Barthelmes, B. Gerber, Th. Kanzler, Ja. Rubel, Val. Schmitzer, C. Eberle, Ch. Zorn, Nich. Weiss, A. Flory, W. Gerber, P. Schirk, G. Merklinger, St. Hartman, L. Weiss, J. Futherer, Fr. Henchen, J. Schweizer, Kasper Knopf, T. Walter, G. Fuchs, John Lorson, Th. Jehlen; St. Herr, Jacob Quanz, Jun., J. Gutsviller, And. Kiefer, Charles Weiler, Amb. Schirk, Ph. Hertel, And. Georg, P. Odenbach, Mich. Brayer,

P. Buhr, Jo. Kohmann, M. Volz, Geo. Schirk, J. Wolf, Anth. Hertel, M. Stuffenhofer, J. Stuffenhofer, Ch. Ehrstein, Ch. ——, J. Ritzenthaler, —— Schmalholz, Th. Peter, Fr. Becker.[22]

The lots purchased as a site for the new Church were deeded to Messrs. Zeug and Fogle, who gave security for payment. A committee, appointed at the meeting, solicited subscriptions to raise funds for the procurement of building material and labor.[23] The Church was begun as soon as possible. Meanwhile, dissensions arose between these men and their Pastor, Father Saenderl, who did not know that they had sent to New York to obtain permission to build a Church from Bishop Hughes. When the corner-stone was laid in the Spring of the same year, the trouble with their Pastor made the men perform the ceremony themselves, and they seized the opportunity to place a documentary protest, inclosed within a bottle, into the cavity of the corner-stone. It was directed expressly against the Redemptorists, without a mention of the Bishop, as Mr. Schweizer testified. He wrote it in haste and concluded with the words: "This church shall not be given to anybody so long as from one to three are against it."[24] When Father Saenderl was succeeded by Father Benedict Bayer, the relations between the Redemptorist Pastor and the new church organization were not improved. Nevertheless, the building was practically completed, and Sebastian Zeug wrote Bishop Hughes, November 14, 1842.

> In accordance with your directions when here, I furnish you with a statement of the new German church, now almost complete. The church is now, with the exception of the basement, completed, and the cost of the ground, on which it stands (114 by 129), with the building complete as stated above, is three thousand and one hundred dollars.
>
> Of this sum, we have now paid by subscriptions collected about one thousand dollars—we have other subscriptions for eight hundred dollars which certainly will be collected.
>
> We have paid with the thousand dollars . . . & Co., nine hundred more, which I raised out of the City Bank on a mortgage on my property, one-half of it to be paid on the 1st of Jan., 1843, and the other half in June, 1844.
>
> I would wish, Right Rev. Sir, that you would advise me as to the mode I could be secured for the nine hundred dollars now on my property. At first, I was to get, when the Church would be completed, something that would secure me against loss. I only

mention the matter to put you fully in possession of the state of things with us, and that you could be so good as to adopt some measure by which I might be secured. I have no fears whatsoever of our being able to meet all our engagements through our own clergyman's exertions, when we get one. Our people are united and delighted with the present prospects of our church.

You will be so good as to answer this at your earliest convenience, and direct me as to the manner of conveying the property to you by deed, as I am anxious, and so are the people to have the matter done. Our church will be ready in one month for divine service.[25]

While Bishop Hughes censured these Catholics for having created dissensions in the Catholic community of Rochester, he went there to settle the trouble. "He sat in judgment between them and the Redemptorists, and decided in their favor, in so far as he concluded his discourse in the following words: 'I see, Mr. Bayer, you try to lead your German people into temptation. If I do wrong only to one, my days being short, I have to answer before Almighty God. Therefore, I declare that church a Catholic Church, provided you will give me a deed in trust of said Church and property; if not you may hire a priest wherever you can get one." The same evening a meeting was held in the church, and a resolution to transfer the property to the Bishop was passed almost unanimously, as Mr. Schweizer was the only man opposed to this transaction.[26]

The conduct of Bishop Hughes in this matter was determined by the Council of Baltimore, 1829, in which the following statute was agreed upon, and rendered applicable to each diocese, except that of Charleston: "Whereas lay trustees have frequently abused the right conceded to them by the State, to the great detriment of religion and scandal of the faithful, we desire earnestly that henceforth no church be erected or consecrated unless the title thereof, whenever it can be done, shall be assigned by a written document to the bishop of the diocese, in which it is to be erected, for the purpose of divine worship and the benefit of the faithful."[27] Accordingly, Sebastian Zeug, John A. Kiefer, Xavier Masseth, Joseph Bertel, Joseph Fogle, Lewis Weiss, Thomas Kanzler, George Grenzinger, and John Wackerman, Trustees of St. Peter's German Catholic Congregation of the City of Roches-

ter, County of Monroe, and State of New York, December 13, 1842, deeded the church property to the Right Reverend John Hughes, Catholic Bishop of New York, and his successors or survivors in office, for the use and benefit of said Congregation, in consideration of one hundred dollars to them duly paid.[28] The deed was executed before the trustees had a title to the property, which was only conveyed to them by Sebastian Zeug, Joseph Fogle, and their respective wives, December 29, 1842.[29] Besides, a doubt arose "whether said persons were the legal trustees of said German Catholick Congregation of St. Peter's Church aforesaid, and as to their authority to take and receive said conveyance" from Zeug and Fogle, or to execute a deed of trust in favor of Bishop Hughes. To remove the doubt and to confirm the title in the latter, Zeug and Fogle, with their respective wives, drew up a new deed that conveyed and confirmed the church property "unto said Right Reverend Bishop Hughes and his successors in Office in Trust for said German Catholic Congregation."[30]

Bishop Hughes evidently availed himself of the services of Father Bernard O'Reilly, the pastor of St. Patrick's Church, to get the church property of St. Peter's properly deeded to himself. For his letter of February 6, 1843, could not have been addressed to any one else, although the copy of the letter kept in the New York Archdiocesan Archives does not give the name of the person addressed.

Rev. dear Sir:

I received your letter of the 1st inst., and am very much pleased that you have taken the pains to have the deed of St. Peter's German Church made all right. It is not in my power, however, to send at this moment a clergyman, for the plain reason that I have none at my disposal. But I shall write Mr. Bayer to open the church & officiate in it as often as possible, until another clergyman can be procured. The German church at Utica is in like manner at this time without a pastor. Please to say to those people that, as soon as it will be in my power, I shall certainly cause divine service to be regularly performed in their church. I am glad also that you have visited Canandaigua &, since Mr. Bradley neglects it, I will be obliged to you to take it under your charge & foster the feeble plant of religion in that place as much as you can.

Having said this much, I must now scold you for two things. One is for not writing a plainer hand and the other for not writing your ideas with openness and candour. The manner, in which you refer to matters connected with the mission in Rochester, would

lead me to infer that you want confidence either in your own statement or in me. Why do you not say openly and plainly what you wish to say on that subject? . . . I would have been much more pleased if you had said in that spirit of frankness, which I would expect you always to show, what it is you mean by reference . . . to the necessity of closing your school and the danger to some of the churches. Please to write to me fully, without ambiguity, on this subject."[31]

Unfortunately, the available files of Archbishop Hughes's correspondence have no further communication from Father Bernard O'Reilly upon this subject. It is difficult to surmise what trouble was then brewing for the Pastor of St. Patrick's Church. The second congregation of English-speaking Catholics had been reestablished in the old St. Mary's Church property on St. Paul St., which John McGonnegal and Margery, his wife, of Irondequoit had sold, November 15, 1841, to George A. Wilkin, John Hayes, Michael Kinsella, and John Rigney for $4400.[32] There was some plotting at the time, with which John D. Urquhart, O. P., appointed to Java early that year, had something to do. His letter to Bishop Hughes is more damaging to himself than to the one whose reputation he is endeavoring to undermine.

Java, Sepr. 5th, 1841.

Right Rev. Bishop,

* * * * * * * *

I hope that my resignation will clearly convince you that I had no *sinister* intentions, when I yielded a conditional *assent* to the proposition made me by a portion of the good people of Rochester, which assent did not outstep the bounds of duty, nor was it in any way *uncanonical.*

By a letter from Rochester, I am credibly informed that the Rev. Mr. O'Reilly has reported to you & insinuated elswhere that I attempted a conspiracy against him, by being the originator of getting up a second church in Rochester for my own interest.

If so, never was a report or insinuation more *false.* If he has the honor & honesty & manliness to confront me after such a charge, I will then give him credit. But if he will not confront me upon such a charge, because *he dare not,* then you will be able to form an estimate of the *veracity* & intrigues of the man, who *in your eyes* seems *totally impeccable.*

What Bishop must, or should you think of the man who keeps Rev. Mr. Connolly in his house as a spy to find out the feelings and sentiments of the people of Rochester . . . . This is a true specimen of the *slick, meek, gentle* & Rev. Traducer, who dares to stab me in

the dark, whilst the hand that *seems unemployed* is stretched out to receive mine under the mask of *friendship!!* I am sorry to say that you *know not* your man, he is a knave & a *consummate intriguer.* A little time may, perhaps, teach you how to estimate the real worth of this *vile, wretched & sycophantic* creature.

* * * * * * * *

JOHN D. URQUHART, O. P.

Bishop Hughes knew Father O'Reilly's worth too well to pay any attention to such angry incriminations of a wandering religious, whose first impressions of Catholic life under the ministration of the zealous pastor of St. Patrick's Church were favorable to the latter. Thus he wrote Bishop Hughes from Java, February 16, 1841: "On the 11th I left [Utica] for Rochester, where I arrived on the 12th. I was induced by Rev. Messrs. O'Reilly & Murphy to assist them in Greece, where a retreat was given to that congregation with great edification, &, I believe, with much spiritual fruit. I had to remain to preach for Mr. O'Reilly in Rochester Sunday, the 17th [January]."[33] Whatever trouble arose in connection with this matter, it must have been all ended by the beginning of 1843. The same is true of the friction with the Board of Trustees which was occasioned by Father Bernard O'Reilly's application for a provision precisely in behalf of Father Mark Murphy, "appointed Assistant Clergyman of this charge by the Bishop." A meeting of the congregation, convoked by the Trustees, voted, December 13, 1840, "that a sum of Two Hundred and fifty Dollars be applied *per. annum* for that purpose." The Trustees, however, decided, January 10, 1841, that "the income of the Church will not enable this Board to pay the Sum voted by said meeting, and at the same time reduce as much as is desirable the debts of the Church;" they thought, moreover, "that the Sum in question can be raised by the Clergyman in the discharge of his duties in the remote parts of this charge." When the priests were informed of this, they wrote in reply to Dr. Hugh Bradly, Secretary to the Board of Trustees of St. Patricks's Church:

Rochester, February 13th, 1841.

Sir—In answer to the communication of the Board of Trustees made through you to me and communicated to Revd. Mr. Murphy, we are happy to be able to say that the Missionary Stations we have succeeded in establishing will meet for the present year the appro-

priation made by the Congregation of which you are the fiscal officers.

We are much pleased at the success which has crowned our efforts in this matter, as whilst it relieves for the present this Church, it gives us an opportunity of carrying the blessings of religion to others whose zeal and gratitude, already manifested, makes it our highest consolation to administer to their spiritual wants.

We take the liberty of remarking that, whilst it will always be our most pleasing duty to administer to the spiritual wants of all entrusted to our care, as may seem best to us, we would wish to be allowed, without censure or evil suspicion, to pursue the even tenor of our way in the discharge of our sacred obligations.

Animated by the same spirit and united by the most intimate bonds of affection and duty, we will not witness without pain any want to either of that respect due to the Clergyman, and which religion enjoins as a duty on every Catholic.

We entertain, Sir, towards you and the other gentlemen comprizing the Board of Trustees the most sincere sentiments of respect.

BERNARD O'REILLY, Pastor of St. Patrick.
MARK MURPHY, Assistant Pastor of Do.

The thanks of the Board were extended to the Reverend Gentlemen "for their promptness in replying to their communication and also for the satisfactory character of their Reply." However, the income to the Assistant Pastor from the Congregation of Brushville and Scottsville proved deficient in the amount expected, and so the Trustees, July 4, 1841, resolved "that the Treasurer pay the Revd. Mr. Murphy the Sum of Fifty Dollars out of the funds in his hands." There was apparently no other way to support the Assistant Pastor. Father O'Reilly, therefore, wrote the Trustees, requesting them again "to make a permanent appropriation for an Associate Clergyman in accordance with the vote of the Congregation, passed 13th December last." They resolved, July 25, 1841, first to find out "the Amount of Services intended to be rendered to this Congregation by the Associate Clergyman, &c., &c." Finally, they took action, October 20, 1841, to pay Father Mark Murphy a Salary quarterly at the rate of $250 a year. No doubt, this delay in meeting the obligation of supporting an Assistant was vexatious to the Pastor, but all such trouble from the Board of Trustees was definitely eliminated, November 6, 1842, when their Minutes report as follows:

Daniel Waters moved that, in compliance with the desire of the Bishop as expressed in his late pastoral respecting the discipline of the diocese generally, as regards the administration of Church property by Trustees, and in compliance with the expressed wish of the Pastor of this Congregation, that this Board do declare itself dissolved—Whereon, On motion of the Secretary, as an amendment, it was Resolved that we request a conference with the Revd. O'Reilly, in order to ascertain the system on which it is contemplated to manage Church property in cases of resignation or superseding of Trustees—

After consideration with the Revd. Mr. O'Reilly, without coming to a vote on the motion of Mr. Waters, the meeting was adjourned till Thursday evening—

The Book of Minutes ends abruptly here, but a petition to the Court, September 9, 1849, for the privilege of selling St. Patrick's Church and the Pinnacle Cemetery to Bishop Timon of Buffalo declares as a fact "the unwillingness of the members of said Church to serve as officers of said corporation, so that for six years . . . . no trustees were elected." The last election recorded in the Book of Minutes took place November 1, 1842, and so Trustees ceased to function for the rest of Father O'Reilly's pastorate at St. Patrick's Church. No trouble from this quarter could, therefore, bother him when he wrote his letter at the beginning of 1843.

The same must have been the case with the school controversy of Bishop Hughes in New York, which had an echo in Rochester also in 1841. On the eve of an election for New York State Senators and Assemblymen, it had been discovered that friends of the Public School Society, a private corporation in New York City, which received all public money for its schools there had pledged candidates of both parties to vote against the Catholic petition to the Legislature for a just share of the school fund as formerly under the school act of 1812, and against the law of the Secretary of State, Hon. John C. Spencer, to extend the State School System also to New York City. To escape a vote for men pledged against Catholic interests, Bishop Hughes proposed an independent ticket, made up of unpledged candidates of both parties and some others.[84] This conduct of the Bishop caused "An Adopted Citizen" to send the following communication to the editor of the *Rochester Daily Advertiser,* where it was published, November 10, 1841.

Mr. Hyatt's honorable and consistent conduct towards adopted citizens induces one of the class to request a place in the *"Rochester Daily Advertiser"* for the following resolutions, believing them to contain the sentiment of 99 in every 100 of the Irish adopted citizens.

At a meeting of adopted citizens in the 15th ward, New York, the following resolutions among others were passed.

"Resolved, That we, the adopted citizens of the 15th ward, have seen, with astonishment and deep regret the recent interference of the respected and venerated bishop Hughes in the political questions of our recent election, and the elective franchise of his catholic brethren.

"Resolved, That, altho' we are devoted to our religion and respect its ministers, while in the pulpit, yet we can never recognize their right to interfere with the free & unshackled exercise of our duties as American citizens at the ballot box.

I am the more anxious to have them published in your paper, as they confirm my own frequently expressed opinions.

AN ADOPTED CITIZEN.

Rochester, Nov. 8, 1841.

The communication did not remain unchallenged long. "Another Adopted Citizen" could not believe that the resolutions "contain the sentiments of 99 of every 100 of the Irish adopted citizens."

Party politicians are too apt to view as good or evil whatever is calculated to result for or against their party; hence it is that so much assiduity has been evinced by hot headed politicians to cast odium on the recent effort that has been made by a portion of our fellow citizens to effect a reform in the mode of distributing the school fund.

If these people, in view of an existing, and to them a grievous monopoly, see fit to nominate such candidates as will represent their interests, which had been overlooked in the general nomination, why, I would ask in the name of justice, should they be libelled & misrepresented as they have been by individuals as well as by numerous portions of the public press? Are men to be held up as advocates for the union of Church and State, as anxious to create sectarian divisions, because they peaceably and legally demanded redress of their grievances at the ballot Box?

Bishop Hughes, that good and venerated man, is borne down upon with such spleen and bitterness as every candid mind, unbiassed by petty party feeling, cannot but despise. Because he was present and took part in the proceedings of a meeting, convened in direct reference to the school question, in which he has so long and ardently persevered, he is represented as endeavoring to control the elective franchise of his catholic brethren.

Faugh, nothing could be more wickedly false than this. Is Bishop Hughes or any other individual to be muzzled and kept at home, and a large body of people overlook their dearest rights and interests for the mere sake of party? No. These men, who have so independently stood forward, not as slaves of party, but as free men, deserve the most cordial approbabtion of every honest man, however widely different their views may be on the school question or any other.

The next day the editor, Mr. Hyatt, printed a passage from the *New York Sunday Times*, which zealously defended the course taken by Bishop Hughes in reference to the school question. It declared that "his only connection with the temporal affairs of this city has been involved in a claim on a portion of the School Fund for the separate education of Catholic children—or the election of School Commissioners by the people, as in every county of the State with the exception of this." Mr. Hyatt himself supposed that "the whole matter has grown out of a belief, on the part of Catholics, that efforts were made in the schools to inculcate sectarian views, in addition to what has been designed to be taught in them. In many instances, this suspicion, no doubt, has been well founded. *We were yesterday informed of a circumstance connected with one of the schools in this city, bearing on this point, which should have subjected the teacher to instant dismission.* Such interference with the 'modes of faith' should not be tolerated, but to divide the school money according to sects will hardly be acceded to in this country." At the request of a prominent Catholic in Rochester, Mr. Hyatt even published the full text of Bishop Hughes's reply to the Address of approval presented to him after the campaign by a great meeting of Catholics and others favorable to an alteration in the present Public School System, at Washington Hall, November 16, 1841. Bishop Hughes, in this reply, plainly met the question, "what system would be deemed just by the Catholics?"

I answer, any system that will leave the various denominations each in the full possession of its religious rights over the minds of its own children. If the children are to be educated promiscuously as at present, let religion in every shape and form be excluded. Let not the Protestant version of the Scriptures, Protestant forms of prayer, Protestant hymns, be forced on the children of Catholics, Jews, and others, as at present, in schools for the support of which

their parents pay taxes as well as Presbyterians. The Public School Society have a right to teach *their own children* that our Divine Redeemer 'showed uncommon quickness of conception, soundness of judgment, and presence of mind'; but I deny their right to introduce such degrading notions of his character into the public schools of the city, and impress them on the children of Catholic and Protestant denominations, who believe higher and holier things of the Son of God.

There is another system which Catholics would deem just and equal. It is that each denomination should prescribe the amount and quality, *for its own children,* of religious instruction which, consistently with the ends of the State in providing education, might be incorporated with it. This plan, if it were practicable, would in my opinion be much safer for the welfare and security of society. But as it is, we hold the establishment of religion in the public schools by the private authority of an irresponsible Board of Trustees, a thing for which neither the State Legislature, nor the Congress of the United States could constitutionally give them a particle of authority.

It is this private, clandestine, surreptitious "union of Church and State" against which Catholics have protested.

It is this which has driven us from the public schools. It is this for which one part of the community pay taxes; whilst for another, the taxes are turned into tithes. It is this which for seventeen years past has subjected Catholics to double taxation, first to support the educational sectarianism of the public school and second, to support private schools consistently with their conscience. *For no Catholic, who believes in the truth of his religion, can allow a child of his to frequent the public schools, as at present constituted, and according to the system which has prevailed in them, without wounding his own conscience and sinning against God; and this he is not allowed to do for the whole world.*[38]

While Mr. Hyatt did not think the charge of mingling politics and religion disproved or justified by the Bishop's apology for his conduct in this affair, he was anxious to do justice to Catholic grievances against the public schools, without, however, allowing separate schools to the benefit of the Public School Fund.

But if this is not the aim of the Bishop, if he only seeks to expel sectarianism from the schools, he asks no more than should have been done on bare representation of the injustice practiced.

Newspapers do not necessarily constitute a portion of a School Library; these, therefore, can be excluded from schools, if used there. As to the merits of Protestant or Catholic version of the Bible, we have nothing to say,—neither of them being indispensable to the libraries of our common schools, but can be reserved for that domestic tuition which must necessarily constitute much of the

knowledge acquired by the juvenile mind. Aside from this, all sects have their Sunday schools, at which the distinctive features of their faith are more or less inculcated. There is no occasion, therefore, for anything like sectarianism in our public school,—especially those schools which are sustained by the money of Jew and Gentile, Infidel and Christian.

In conclusion, we beg leave to say, that the duty is imperative on the Legislature to examine into the subject of school management in New York, and in all other places where complaints are made of sectarian influence in the supervision of schools, wherever abuse is found to exist. This the Legislature ought to do at once. Further than this 'equal and exact justice' does not demand that they should go.[37]

The new Legislature did not change the Public School System, but it extended the provisions of the State School Law also to New York City by a special bill, introduced by William B. Maclay, which was passed April 9, 1842. This soon put the Public School Society out of existence. Nothing, however, was gained for the Catholic separate or parochial schools.

Failure to obtain a share of the School Fund certainly did not damp the spirit of sacrifice demanded for the religious education of Catholic children in Rochester. This is attested by the activity of an *Orphan Asylum Society* connected with St. Patrick's Church. While "the propriety of purchasing the vacant lot of ground in the rear of the Church" was under consideration, "G. A. Madden bought it, July 27, 1836, for $875—"one fourth of which is payable immediately and the remainder in three equal Annual payments". He at once offered to transfer the property to the Board of Trustees for the use of the Congregation, and the offer was accepted the day following the purchase. For some years nothing further was done, but January 7, 1839, the Christmas Collection, $114.94, "was ordered to be appropriated, when required, to aid in erecting an orphan asylum in the rear of the Church—for which purpose the collection on that day was made." No further step was taken to advance the project until January 3, 1841, when the Trustees of the Church were empowered by the Congregation to act, in union with the officers of the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum Society, "to select and set apart such portion of the lot in the rear of the Church as they . . . shall consider suitable for the erection of the contemplated Orphan Asylum." The following Spring the offi-

cers of the Society "applied for the use of the house and unoccupied land, the property of this congregation near St. Patrick's Cemetery, as a temporary asylum." When the request was granted, the officers of the Society demanded, March 21, 1841, "that we shall have a lease for one year and the privilege of a second and that we shall be paid for any improvments we may make thereon over and above the sum of Fifty-two Dollars." Meanwhile, the Orphan Asylum was building, and December 12, 1841, the Trustees of St. Patrick's Church resolved "that the avails of the collection on Christmas day be given in aid of finishing the orphan Asylum." The Society, aided by the liberal contributions of several benevolent citizens, was enabled to open the institution for the reception of Orphan children, July 5, 1842. At first, it had accommodations for only twenty-four orphans, who were under the care of a matron, Miss Kelly.[38] This last was only a temporary arrangement, which the board of managers created by the Orphan Asylum Society at its meeting, September 17, 1843, with Father O'Reilly, President, Rev. Charles D. French, Vice-President, George A. Wilkin, treasurer, and P. Barry, Secretary, tried to change as soon as it became possible. In March, 1844, they applied to Emmitsburg for Sisters of Charity to take charge of the Orphans, but the Sisters only came to Rochester the following year, when they also opened a school for girls.[39] The future of the institution was now guaranteed, and at a meeting of the Society, February 9, 1845, it was resolved to have the Society incorporated. May 14, 1845, the Legislature passed the act incorporating the *Roman Catholic Asylum Society* of Rochester, with real and personal estate not to exceed the yearly value of $40 per orphan, over and above the value of the buildings occupied by them.[40] The trustees were Reverend Bernard O'Reilly of St. Patrick's Church, Reverend Charles D. French of Greece, Reverend Lawrence Carroll of St. Mary's Church, and the following laymen, Messrs. Hugh Bradley, Patrick Doyle, Patrick Barry, James O'Donoghue, James Gallery, Michael Mullen.[41] The by-laws adopted July 13, 1845, perfected the organization of the Society. The pastor of St. Patrick's Church was always president *ex officio*. Meetings were to take place once a month, and the annual election in June. Membership dues were a shilling a month, unless life membership was obtained

by the payment of $50.[42] These fees were not the only means of support available for the institution. Donations from charitable persons also gave considerable financial aid, but the main source of revenue was the annual Fair on or near St. Patrick's Day. The following advertisement in the *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, March 15, 1844, gives some idea of its organization:

> The Lady Managers of the R. C. Orphan Asylum respectfully announce to the patrons of the Institution & the citizens generally that they will hold their second Annual Fair, in behalf of their Institution, at Monroe Hall, on Monday & Tuesday, the 18th & 19th inst., when they will offer for sale a large & varied assortment of Useful and Fancy Articles.
>
> The Refreshment Tables will be furnished with a choice of Pastry, Confectionaries, Fruit, Ice Cream, &c., which will be served up during each day & evening. Capt. Cheshire's Band has been engaged for both evenings.
>
> The Fair will open for the reception of visitors on Monday, at 10 o'clock, A. M.; & on Tuesday, at 10 o'clock A. M., & will continue each day without intermission.
>
> The Hall has been suitably decorated & arranged, & every convenience attended to to render a visit to the Fair pleasant & agreeable to all, who may wish to favor it with their patronage & contribute thereby to the Orphan relief.
>
> M. A. McKENNA, President.
>
> R. A. O'DONOGHUE, Sec. March 13, 1844.

Apparently there was no lack of cooperation in this great work of charity between pastor and people. A religious notice in the *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, April 26, 1844, also betokens unusual appreciation of the pastor's ability as a preacher on the part of his congregation. "At request of many, who had the pleasure of hearing the Rev. Mr. O'Reilly on last Sunday forenoon, he will repeat his Sermon on "The Christian Rule of Faith' on Next Sunday, in St. Patrick's Church, at ½ past 10 o'clock, A. M." Precisely at this time, it was good to insist on the fact that "God has instituted the Church through his only-begotten Son, and has bestowed on it manifest marks of that institution, that it may be recognized by all men as the guardian and teacher of the revealed Word."

The *Native American Party*, based on principles of hostility to the Catholic Church and to foreigners, even though naturalized, soon became responsible for riots in Philadelphia that resulted in murder and arson of the worst description,

and necessitated the temporary suspension of Catholic worship in the churches not destroyed by fire.[43] The same evils would have befallen New York City, if Bishop Hughes had not been able to intimidate any attempt at violence on the part of Native Americans and to influence Catholics by his advice, "so that boys and young men could march, even in the night, through streets almost entirely occupied by Irish Catholics, with fife and drum, with illuminated banners bearing such inscriptions as that of 'No Popery' as a public and political device."[44] If there was any Native American element in the population of Rochester, there was no such manifestation of it as to attract public notice, even though the *Irish Repeal Association,* organized February 12, 1841, "to aid the Liberator in achieving the repeal of the Legislative Union between Great Britian and Ireland,"[45] was still publicly active in the summer of 1844 "in aid of the cause which has involved O'Connell and others in the restraint of a prison."[46] It could not escape the eyes of enemies seeking to disenfranchise Irish Catholics of their political rights in their adopted country; but public opinion, such as was manifested in the *Rochester Daily Advertiser* severely condemned the Philadelphia rioters, and rightly characterized the ostracism of the "foreigner" as unconstitutional.[47] Mr. Hyatt also printed a summary of the letter, addressed by Bishop Hughes to Mayor Harper against the slanders originating in Bennett's *New York Herald,* copied and imitated by Stone's *Commercial Advertiser* and other papers of that stamp, and re-echoed by bigoted pulpits and lectures, all of which poisoned the minds of many, and prepared them for membership in the *Native American Party.*[48] The communication from Bishop Hughes was occasioned when he received a letter from a young "Native American" who "advised me that he has provided himself with a 'poignard', by which I am to 'bite the dust!' " Bishop Hughes fearlessly declared: "I shall pursue the tenor of my way, and be found wherever my duties as a Catholic Bishop and a citizen of the United States require me to be."[49] His ministry was, in fact, as public after, as it had been before the threat, and the following religious notice duly appeared in the *Rochester Daily Advertiser,* August 15, 1844: "Right Rev. Bishop Hughes of New York will administer the sacrament of confirmation on next Sunday, 18th inst., in St. Patrick's church, at 7 o'clock,

and preach at ½ past 10 A. M." No doubt the Congregation showed their appreciation of the visit by heeding the invitation in the concluding paragraph of the notice: "A collection will be taken up at both services to aid in the purchase of an organ for the church, to which all are expected to contribute liberally."

Meanwhile, St. Joseph's new Church was begun. The corner-stone was laid August 15, 1843, but the work progressed slowly, and the building was not ready for occupancy until St. Anne's Day, July 26, 1846. The next day a Catholic of Rochester sent a description of the ceremonies on the occasion to the *Boston Pilot.*

Rochester, N. Y., July 27, 1846.

Mr. P. Donahoe,
Sir—

Yesterday (Sunday) another Catholic Church was added to the number with which our city has already been blessed. This makes the fifth Catholic Church that has been dedicated to the service of Almighty God in Rochester. A procession was formed in front of the old church between the hour of nine and ten A. M., and marched two deep. A splendid band joined the choir in chanting the Psalms during the procession; the clergy in attendance were dressed in surplices. The Very Rev. Father Czackert, Superior of the Redemptorists in the United States, was officiating or high priest, and was clothed in cope. When the procession arrived in front of the new edifice, the ceremony of dedication commenced. On the conclusion, a grand High Mass was celebrated, assisted by the Rev. G. Beranek, C. SS.R., and Rev. J. S. Hespelein, C.SS.R., as Master of Ceremonies.

After the Gospel, the Rev. J. S. Hespelein addressed the congregation in German in a most able and talented manner. He was listened to with the greatest attention, even by those who did not understand the language. His delivery and appearance were very impressive. At the conclusion of the High Mass, the Very Rev. Superior addressed the congregation in English, in a very appropriate manner. He dwelt at some length on the nature of the Sacrifice of the Mass; he showed from the Old and New Testament that the faithful of all times offered sacrifices to Almighty God, either for favors received, or atonement, etc.

The afternoon service commenced at four o'clock. The Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, Pastor of St. Patrick's, officiated in cope, assisted by Rev. Father Tschenhens and Rev. Father Beranek. After the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, the Rev. Father O'Reilly addressed the people in English, in a short but very impressive manner on the Unity of the Catholic Church, being spread throughout all nations, embracing all tongues, and yet as one family offering the same sacrifice, and worshipping at the same altar. He congrat-

ulated the congregation, and paid them the highest tribute of respect and esteem for their great zeal in erecting a temple of such magnificence and style, which is not only a credit to the congregation, but an ornament to the city.

The church was dedicated under the patronage of St. Joseph. It is a very magnificent building in Corinthian style, and is 125 feet long with two side chapels of about 40 feet each. The front is of solid cut stone; the tower, which is now but a little over the roof, is to be raised to a height of 200 feet. The church, when finished in the interior, will be one of the finest and best edifices in Western New York.

This day a solemn Requiem Mass was performed in it for the repose of the soul of the late Holy Father, Pope Gregory XVI. The Rev. George Beranek was celebrant, assisted by Rev. Father Hespelein, and Rev. Father O'Reilly as Deacon and Subdeacon. The Sisters of Charity and the orphans under their care, belonging to St. Patrick's Church, were present.

I should have said that the new church is the work of the priests of the Order of the Redemptorists. It is owing to their great zeal and interest for religion, that such an undertaking was commenced and prosecuted.

J. R.[50]

Redemptorist success awakened enthusiastic praise on the one hand, while mistakes charged against them did not escape bitter criticism on the other hand.[51] Although the reorganization of St. Joseph's Church eliminated the trustees entirely as a factor from the life of the Parish, trusteeism was still vital in another section of Rochester. This was discovered by the Franciscan Father Ivo Leviz, the first Pastor appointed to the new German church of St. Peter, where his first baptism is recorded April 21, 1843. This Book of Baptisms, Marriages, and Burials opens with an interesting sketch.

The Roman Catholic Church of St. Peter, the Apostle, for the Germans, situated to the West of the Genesee River in the City of Rochester, Monroe County, State of New York, [was] built A. D. 1842. And this the undersigned, by the delegation of the most illustrious and Reverend Mr. John Hughes, Bishop of New York, dedicated in honor of the same St. Peter, the Apostle, the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul, Apostles, A.D., June 29, 1843.

FR. IVO LEVIZ
ORD. MIN. S. FRANC. Str. Obs.

Rev. Bernard O'Reilly, Pastor of St. Patrick's, preached the sermon in English; the above named officiating [Franciscan Father] preached in German, Rev. French, O. P., Pastor of Greece, however, sang the Mass of Dedication. The function began 9 A. M., and was

St. Joseph's Church on Franklin Street without the Tower.

Tower built up in wood in 1857

terminated after 1 P. M. And at this solemnity there was present Rev. Mr. Noethen of Syracuse.

The revenues of the Church are pews, collections, alms, and religious societies, such as that of the Most Holy Rosary, the Society of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the Society of Our Holy Father Francis.

However, the debts are still large for the poor Congregation; at the last report, the month of April, 1844, there remained a floating debt of $2330.86, due partly to the Bank of the City of Rochester, and partly to other private persons.

The Church is still destitute of ornaments and necessary utensils for the celebration of divine worship.

The cemetery, two miles distant from the Church, consisting of 6 acres, was given to the Church by Peter Till, for whom a High Mass is applied annually the 29th of June.

The School is continually supplied with a teacher, who is paid 6 cents each week for very child by the parents or by the Church; he has $52 a year for the care of the Church and for singing. He has perquisites in Baptism &c. The number of children in winter easily exceeds 80, in summer 60; a lady teacher for girls cannot yet be kept, as there is no house for her.

To this Church and Congregation belong, in virtue of a decision of the illustrious and Reverend Bishop John Hughes in the month of April, A.D., 1843, all the faithful living to the West of the Genesee River.

It was on account of the distance of the old Church of St. Joseph, the desire, nevertheless, of many faithful to be present at divine service on Sundays and holy days, the impeding weather, the long way, especially in winter, that the above named Church of St. Peter was built with the great jubilation of the faithful, a few excepted who refused to contribute to the building, and left the Congregation and Church. These go to St. Joseph's with no less damage than scandal that arose by reason of enmity from the secession and discord, which have not yet been allayed, but rather have broken out continually anew.

From April, 1843, to April, 1844, the

Baptisms were	68
Marriages were	7
Dead, four of whom adults	21
Paschal confessions and communions	434
First communion of children	22

So it is

Rochester, N. Y., at St. Peter's, the Apostle,
May 7, 1844.

Fr. Ivo Leviz, O.M.F.
Pastor.

In the month of June, the Church was enclosed on three sides with a fence, provided with a main door, and two other doors.

The bell, "Mary Joseph", of sixty-five pounds, paid with the

alms of the Society of St. Joseph, consisting of the young of both sexes, was hung July 11, 1844.

Thanks be to God! and Praise to the Virgin Mary and her Spouse, St. Joseph!!!

The same little bell was fastened between two beams on the roof of the Church, September 20, 1844.

The quarters for the priest, within the Church, basement, consisting of two rooms, were arranged in 1845—Likewise the school was finished with benches.

Rochester, N. Y., at St. Peter's, in the month of March, 1845.

FR. IVO LEVIZ.

The very month following this last entry, Father Leviz left St. Peter's Church in disgust. Father John Raffeiner, Vicar General for the Germans, baptized in the Church, according to his own record there, April 27 and May 4, 1845. The absence of Father Leviz was only temporary. The following letter by Father Raffeiner to Hon. John Schwartz, Consul General of the United States in Vienna, Austria, June 11, 1845, explains what really happened in Rochester at the time.

> Here there are two German churches, one of them in charge of a Redemptorist, the other in charge of Rev. Ivo Leviz, a Franciscan, who was in Vienna two years ago. Seven weeks ago he suddenly left his congregation, and intended to return to his monastery in consequence of improper treatment of his trustees. However, I persuaded him to stay at my church in Williamsburgh until I had returned from my visitation. At Rochester, I invited the congregation to meet me on Sunday after Vespers, impressed upon them their unfortunate position, announcing to them that they would remain without a priest for a long time, that their church, already in debt to the amount of $2000, must of necessity accumulate greater and greater debts; that Christian education would be neglected and the like. I could give them no better advice than to ask Father Ivo Leviz not to abandon his flock. For in my opinion, if he were requested to take in hand the administration of the church with the assistance of two witnesses, instead of the trustees, he would agree to the proposal. On taking a vote, fifty-two favored, and thirty-six opposed my suggestion. I announced this to Father Ivo, and he returned to his flock.[52]

Nevertheless, Father Leviz only remained another year. His last baptism in St. Peter's Church is dated May 10, 1846. For more than three months the congregation had no priest of their own and was, therefore, dependent upon the charitable ministry of the Redemptorist Fathers until the arrival of Father Bereyni. He must have reached Rochester, August

24, 1846, as a Redemptorist baptized the day before and he the day after that date. Now at last peace seemed firmly established. The membership of the Church increased from 842 to 1676; many debts were paid; fine vestments were purchased; and $500 was expended for a new organ. The congregation was so pleased with the progress made that they determined to give their pastor a testimonial of their love and gratitude. They bought him a riding horse, but Father Bereyni, who lived like a hermit, refused the gift. Even then a plot was forming to overthrow the peace and harmony of the congregation. A number of grocery men and saloon keepers persuaded Father Berenyi to announce the election of seven men to examine into the account books of the Church Committee, which they claimed had acted dishonestly. The pastor did not suspect any evil intentions, and had already twice announced the election, when one of the conspirators, in a state of drunkenness, revealed that the real design was to procure a charter for the incorporation of trustees. Father Berenyi then strictly forbade the announced election, and so the evil was postponed for a time.[53]

To the authorities of the Diocese, there was given some compensation for the harm done by malcontents of this kind through cooperation for the best interests of religion from others. A marked instance is the foundation of the Catholic Church in Watkins, where the main work was done by Mr. Quin, a Protestant, though of Irish Catholic stock on his father's side. He married a Catholic wife, the sister of Francis Kernan, whose partner he became at Utica, where he was baptized a Catholic before his death in the summer of 1865. He certainly deserved, as much as a man can do so, the grace of conversion, in the light of a beautiful letter of appreciation sent him by the Coadjutor Bishop of New York, December 17, 1845.

> I beg to acknowledge the due receipt of your kind letter, dated 12th inst., in which you inform me that you have concluded an agreement for the purchase of the church, in which I had the privilege of lecturing last summer while on a visit to your pleasant little village. I need not say how very gratifying this intelligence has been to me. The terms, upon which the building may be secured, are very reasonable, yet even on such moderate and reasonable terms I had hardly supposed that the Catholics of your place, being so limited in means, would have had the courage to undertake the

purchase. No doubt they derive great confidence from the generous exertion of the gentleman, who in your letter is pleased to style himself a "heretic"—but all *heretic* as he is, has still a *Catholic heart.*

With regard to the deed and its validity under the restriction clause, of which you have spoken, you yourself, being "skilled in law," will be abundantly able to judge. I should presume that it would be good enough, unless the plea would be set up by some of the "Saints" that "Popish" service is not "Divine", but *heathen* service, and that, therefore, the church, being once appropriated to Catholic (or Popish) worship, it would be estranged from the purpose specified, and must consequently revert to its original owners. This *knotty* point you can better unravel than myself. A quit title wd, of course, be best, but under the circumstances will not be required—the reversionary interest may be purchased, if deemed advisable, at some later period. The church may be called St. Mary's, as you desire. I admire and respect the feeling which suggested that name.

As to the alterations and repairs, it will be better to make such only at first as are found necessary—the addition for a vestry and confessional wd be among the first. In the Church you will require a *sanctuary* raised one step above the floor, and an *altar* elevated two or three steps above the level of the sanctuary. I would advise you, however, not to proceed with this, without your clergyman's advice upon the spot;—or at least, without having obtained a suitable plan from either the Church of Binghampton or Geneva, or some other, which you may follow. Candlesticks and vestments and chalice will also be wanted; but these the clergyman who visits you will supply in the beginning;—they may be purchased for the church when your means will permit.

These articles can be had in New York at moderate prices—other ornaments and decorations may be added by degrees. To give you some idea of the cost of the more necessary articles, I should say that *chalices* may be purchased at any price varying from $16 to $100—vestments from $20 upward.

I should be too happy to have it in my power to promise you a resident clergyman either in Salubria (Watkins) or Geneva. But this is quite impracticable *just now.* The time, I trust, is not far distant when your laudable wishes in this respect may be gratified. Meanwhile, go on courageously and with hope. On my next visit I may see what further can be done to promote the interests of religion in your place and vicinity. As the Ministers by that time will have worn their present subjects pretty threadbare, I may have the pleasure of furnishing them with some *new texts*—for which, doubtless, they will be much obliged to me.

It is truly deplorable that the poor Catholics must be the only ones who shall forever be the objects of vituperation and abuse, and denied the right, which belongs, to all of worshiping God according to the dictates of their own conscience.

John Card. McCloskey

ORIGINAL IN THE ARCHBISHOP'S HOUSE. PAINTED BY THE LATE AUGUSTINE HEALY.

Archbishop of New York, 1864-1885
Coadjutor of New York, 1844-1847
First Bishop of Albany, 1847-1864
First American Cardinal, 1875-1885

However, it must be so. Truth rests securely on its own foundation. Error finds its existence only in *assailing* truth. I wish heartily there were no worse "heretics" than yourself. Then would we have more charity, more peace, more hope. For I still pray that God may one day bless you with that *faith* which was the faith of those of your own kindred who have gone before you and who now sleep in peace—which is still the faith of those whom you respect and *love*, which is the best remedy for all our wants, the best solace for all our woes. Remember me kindly to all, and believe me, Dear Sir,

Very truly and sincerely
Yours &c.
JOHN MCCLOSKEY.

GEO. W. QUIN.

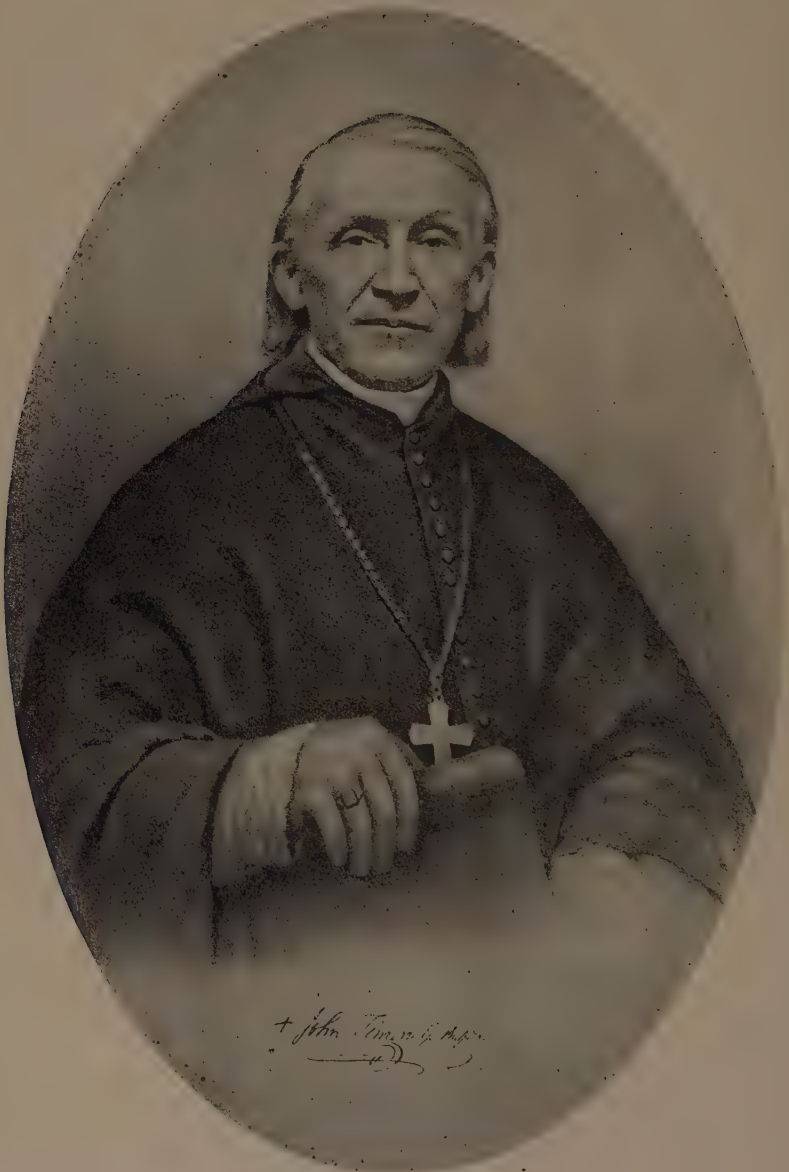
P. S. I forgot to say that the deed had better be made out in the name of one *of the purchasers*, who will afterward transfer it to the Bishop of the Diocese.[54]

Even with the help of an able Coadjutor, Bishop Hughes realized the difficulty of coping with problems arising in remote districts of his vast diocese, especially as they seemed to increase instead of decrease in the course of years. He, therefore, applied to the Holy Father to divide the Diocese and to appoint his Coadjutor to the new See to be established at Albany, the Capital of the State. He sent a map of the State to Dr. Cullen, January 24, 1845, "to give a more accurate idea of its extent and increasing importance. The portion assigned to the contemplated See of Albany will still be too large; and you will observe, marked with circles of red ink, two other future Bishoprics, one in the western portion, the other in the northern portion, Rochester and Plattsburg. But of these, as new Bishops will have to be recommended, it is unnecessary to speak at present. The subject will be brought before the Bishops of the next Provincial Council, which will probably be the last till the division of the Province. One Bishop residing at the extremity of the Diocese is not sufficient for the right government of all, especially with the great increase of missionaries. Just imagine, seven or eight of my priests, if they wish to visit me on business, must travel 500 miles. Indeed, this ought to be divided into four dioceses: New York, Albany, Plattsburg, and Rochester—and I have marked on the Map what may be their limits, taking in for Plattsburg a remote portion of the Diocese of Boston. But at present, the erection of Albany into an Episcopal See and the appointment of Dr.

McCloskey will be sufficient."[55] In 1847, Bishop Hughes was successful in his efforts to get a division of his vast diocese. Two new Sees were established, one at Albany, the other, however, at Buffalo, and not at Rochester. It took another twenty years before the American prelates petitioned for the erection of the Diocese of Rochester. Bishop McQuaid paid his first visit to his future episcopal city, as an observant ecclesiastical student, in the summer of 1846. He grew up amidst the people who settled in this country between 1830 and 1850, and so was well qualified to describe them in his sermon at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore. Although misguided at times by a number of cunning rascals—not more than eighteen in all in Rochester and Buffalo together according to Archbishop Hughes in 1852[56]—, we must not allow the vices of these men to close our eyes to the virtues of the people at large, to which Bishop McQuaid does generous justice.

> The first immigrants coming in large numbers were from Ireland. Of all the peoples of Europe, they were best fitted to open the way for religion in a new country. Brave by nature, inured to poverty and hardship, just released from a struggle unto death for the faith, accustomed to the practice of religion in its simplest forms, cherishing dearly their priests whom they had learned to support directly, actively engaged in building humble chapels on the sites of ruined churches and in replacing altars, they were not appalled by the wretchedness of religious equipments and surroundings in their new homes on this side of the Atlantic. The priest was always the priest, no matter where they found him, or from what country he had come; the Mass was always the Mass, no matter where it was offered up. They had lived among the bitterest foes and had never quailed or flinched; misrepresentations and calumnies, sneers and scorn made no impression on their faithful hearts. Men who prefer death to denial of Christ, are not cowards or traitors. In such a school of discipline, they had been trained to do missionary work. They and their descendants have not, in a new hemisphere, unlearned the lessons taught at home.
>
> Quickly following the Irish came the Germans from all parts of the fatherland. They too were a sturdy race, able to hold their own. Many of them had also known persecution for religion's sake; most of them remembered the stories of bloody times which had come to them among the traditions of their hearths. They were prompt to rival their Irish brethren in building up the Church. At home they had their old parish churches, with chants and ceremonial which lend to religion much that is consoling and instructive. The religious traditions and glories of the old land they sought to emulate in this. Better than all, they have stood fast by the duty of maintaining

Christian Schools for Christian children. There is much they can copy from the Irish, and much the Irish can learn from the Germans. All other nationalities of Europe can kneel at their feet and imbibe salutary and profitable lessons.[57]



JOHN TIMON, D. D.
First Bishop of Buffalo, 1847-1867

BOOK II

ROCHESTER DISTRICT IN THE DIOCESE OF BUFFALO

1847 - 1867

Chapter VI

CATHOLICISM CONSOLIDATED

The Diocese of Buffalo, which Pius IX established April 23, 1847, comprised all that part of the State of New York which lies west of the eastern limits of Cayuga, Tompkins, and Tioga Counties. This includes all the territory within the dioceses of both Buffalo and Rochester today. The Very Reverend John Timon, then Visitor of the Congregation of the Mission in this country, was appointed the first Bishop of the new see.[1] He was consecrated in the Cathedral of New York by Bishop Hughes, assisted by Dr. Walsh, Bishop of Halifax, and Dr. McCloskey, Bishop of Albany, the Feast of the Maternity of the Blessed Virgin, October 17, 1847. Two of his consecrators, Bishop Hughes and McCloskey, accompanied the new Bishop in his journey to Buffalo three days later.[2] St. Patrick's Church in Rochester, the first parish organized in all Western New York, had also the honor of having the first Mass celebrated by Bishop Timon in his Diocese. Although he arrived only at two o'clock in the morning, a large number of faithful assembled to hear his Mass at eight o'clock and to receive his first blessing. In the afternoon he left Rochester for Buffalo, where he arrived in the evening. He was received there by a triumphal procession that brought him to St. Louis Church, the only church edifice of the three in Buffalo in fitting condition for the Bishop's reception.[3]

The *United States Catholic Almanac*, in its issue of 1848, credits the new Diocese of Buffalo with eighteen priests, including the secular as well as the Redemptorist clergy in the number.[4] However, Bishop Timon later wrote that, at his advent in the Diocese, he only found sixteen priests and sixteen churches, and that "most of these churches might rather be called huts or shanties."[5] The Rochester District had a fair share of the churches. The city itself had four: St. Patrick's, St. Joseph's, St. Mary's, and St. Peter's, equally divided between the Irish and the German Catholics. Only the first two had more than one priest at the time, but the churches in

Greece, Scottsville, Canandaigua, and Mt. Morris were then attended from Rochester. Seneca Falls and Geneva were attended from Auburn; Ithaca, Jefferson (Watkins), and Elmira from Owego; Geneseo and Dansville from Buffalo. Bath also received an occasional visit from a priest. This survey gives all that there was of a Catholic ministry for the Catholic population of the Rochester district.[6]

Bishop Timon represents Catholic education less flourishing than the Catholic ministry. In the whole Diocese of Buffalo, "there were but four Catholic schools, taught by seculars, and generally in a poor state; no religious Ladies of any Order or Community for instruction or charity, except one house of the Sisters of Charity, in St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum, Rochester."[7] The *United States Catholic Almanac* states that two of these Sisters were "in charge of a Young Ladies select school, which is very prosperous and has attained deserved popularity." It also mentions that "St. Patrick's Select School for boys, attached to the same congregation, under the charge of two brothers, is also prosperous and is fast realizing the hopes of the friends of a sound Catholic system of education."[8] St. Joseph's Church had a parochial school almost from the beginning of its existence. The same is true of St. Peter's Church. All these schools were, indeed, most elementary in character, but they attest an early appreciation of the need of safeguarding the faith of the little children through the agency of the parochial school. Yet the *United States Catholic Almanac* of 1849 gives the attendance of the parish schools in Rochester at only about 600 children.[9]

The joy felt by the Catholics of Rochester at the arrival of their own Bishop was soon turned into sadness for St. Patrick's parish by the removal of their beloved Pastor, Father Bernard O'Reilly, to Buffalo as Vicar General of the new Diocese. However, this loss found some compensation in the zeal displayed by the new Bishop in the Rochester District, as he made no distinction of persons or places, when the salvation of souls was in question. Bishop Timon was especially fitted for the ministry of God's Word by his ability to preach in three modern languages. It must have been a great consolation for the German and French as well as the English-speaking Catholics to have the Bishop preach and hear confessions in their mother tongue. Thus in St. Patrick's

Church, Rochester, he was not satisfied with preaching an English retreat, but he also gave a French retreat to the French and Canadian members of the Parish. Nevertheless, the results did not prove satisfactory, and Bishop Timon came to realize still more "the necessity of getting a French Church, in which they could be taught Catechism, and every Sunday hear the Word of God in their mother tongue."[10] The Church on Ely Street, vacated by the congregation after the building of St. Joseph's Church on Franklin Street, soon became St. Mary's (French) Church under the hearty encouragement of Bishop Timon. According to his own testimony, "the first year was thus passed in giving retreats and visiting the whole Diocese, preaching, saying Mass, &c., in the few churches that existed, or in school-houses, or in Protestant churches when their use was permitted him, or in a shanty, or in the open air when no shelter was attainable. The first year he confirmed 4617 persons, of which about half were adults."[11] This speaks well for the zeal of the new Bishop, but a still better idea of his apostolic work is obtained from a report of a visitation early in 1848, which deals mainly with his missionary journey through the southern tier of the Rochester district.

> At his visit to Auburn, the Bishop gave a short retreat of three or four days. Here as in most parts of his missions, the extreme poverty of the people had prevented their providing Ostensorium or Cope for Benedictions, even Ciboriums were very rare, and the sacred vessels few and poor. Efforts were immediately made to remedy this.
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> On the 24th, [January, 1848], the Bishop arrived, at 11 A. M., at Seneca Falls—found the Catholics assembled in the Church, gave them an instruction; Father O'Flaherty and Sheridan began to hear confessions; the Bishop aided them in the same holy function in the evening, and preached at 7 P. M., the little chapel being crowded to excess. The exercises continued till the 28th (?) at mid-day, 53 persons were confirmed, and 200 received Holy Communion . . .
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> On the 26th, the Bishop arrived by private conveyance at Geneva, at 3 P. M. He and Rev. Father O'Flaherty and Sheridan began to hear confessions; at 7 P. M., the Bishop preached to a large congregation, and in this retreat 200 persons received Holy Communion, and fifty-three were confirmed.
>
> On the 29th, the Bishop arrived at Jefferson (Watkins), at the southern end of Seneca Lake. A church once used by the Presbyterians had been purchased; it was not yet fitted up. The Bishop and Father Sheridan worked till near night in fixing the altar, etc. And the church, beautifully seated on an eminence over the lake,

was called "St. Mary's of the Lake." At 7 A. M., the Bishop preached.

On the 30th, the Bishop confirmed twelve persons; many approached the holy table. A convert, a very respectable lady, remarked that, having been exceedingly terrified at Methodist preaching about hell, so that she was afraid to sleep, she felt her terrors removed by a dream, or vision in a dream. She saw a bright arm extended as if to help, and a voice pronounced distinctly the words, "Do penance, and you shall be saved." Never having heard these words, she knew not where to find them or what they meant. In vain did she read over her Protestant Bible; then examined the Catholic faith, and became an edifying member of the Church.

On the 1st February, the Bishop confirmed three persons at Gen. Kernan's, thence proceeding to Hammondsport, preached for a long time to a very crowded audience, and confirmed eighteen persons; starting thence at 4 P. M., he arrived at Jefferson at 9 P. M. After blessing and distributing candles at St. Mary's of the Lake, and confirming one adult, the Bishop started, with Father Sheridan, for Ithaca. They arrived at 7 P. M., and drove straight to the town hall, where they found a large and respectable congregation assembled. Father Sheridan then went to hear confessions and administer the sacrament of matrimony. At 11, the day's labor was over.

On the 3rd, the Bishop and Mr. Sheridan heard confessions in a private house; as we have no church in this place, many went to communion there at the Bishop's Mass. At 11, Father Sheridan said Mass, and after it the Bishop conferred Confirmation; twenty-four persons, mostly adults, were confirmed. At 2 P. M., the service was over. At 4, the Bishop and Mr. Sheridan started for Owego, which place they reached at 10½ P. M.

On the 4th, began a retreat at Owego, saying Mass and preaching in a small chapel at a private house; each night also the Bishop preached in the court house to a large and respectable audience. On Sunday, the early Mass and communion were in the private chapel; at 11, Mass was said by Father Sheridan in the court house, the most respectful and religious attention was observed; the Bishop preached at the Gospel on the Holy Sacrifice, and after Mass on Confirmation; eighteen persons were then confirmed. A very large audience again assembled in the court house at 7 P. M.; the Bishop preached on the Sacrament of Penance; many seemed very much struck with the proofs he adduced.

On the 7th, after Mass, the Bishop and Rev. Mr. Sheridan started in the sleigh for Elmira. The sleighing was good for a few miles then gradually failed. Whilst seeking the roadside, where some snow remained, the sleigh upset, the Bishop was thrown on the hard frozen ground, much stunned and cut, but after a few moments he strove to continue his route, the sleigh broke, a wagon was hired, the horse then gave out, and after great fatigue the missionaries were forced to stop at Factoryville. The Bishop taught catechism

and heard confessions that night. Whilst friends were seeking a wagon and team next morning, the Bishop said Mass in a private house, gave instruction to the Catholics there, preached to a large audience, mostly of Protestants, in the school-house; then started for Elmira, heard confessions there the same night, next morning said Mass in a private house, and preached for the assembled Catholics. The Rev. Mr. Sheridan said Mass in the court house, the Bishop preached at the Gospel on the Holy Sacrifice, and after Mass, on the Sacrament of Penance. Confirmation was deferred to the next visit, as those who wished to receive it were not prepared.

After the service the Bishop started for Corning. No place could be found for preaching or Divine service, except the Methodist Church; the people had already begun to assemble in it. The Bishop then repaired thither as soon as he arrived, and preached to a very large audience on general views of the Catholic Church and its Holy Sacraments. When he had finished, a poor Irishman approached and said, "God bless you! but, och, how good it would have been, if you had said more about confession; *they do mock us so much about it.*" The Bishop immediately cried out at the top of his voice, "Tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock, I will say Mass here and preach on Confession and the pardon of Sin." Wrapped up in his cloak, the morning being very cold, the Bishop was being shaved in the barber's shop, when two gentlemen entered and said laughingly to the barber, "Well, Tom, ain't you coming up to hear that Bishop and to get your sins pardoned; better bring plenty of money with you." The conversation went on for a while in this way, no one suspecting that the Bishop was present. As the Bishop began his sermon, he saw the two gentlemen come in, just as he was mentioning the fact, without giving names which, indeed, he did not know. The audience seemed quite satisfied, at least that Catholics had been greatly wronged on this point. And in the Bishop's appeal for help to build a Catholic Church, many Protestants came forward to subscribe; three hundred dollars were at once subscribed. A most respectable Protestant Company gave the lot, and very soon a Catholic Church was erected.

There being then no railroad in that quarter, the Bishop was about entering a carriage for Bath, when he was called to a dying man in a small shanty, some distance off. He started on foot. An ex-Presbyterian Minister, who had assisted at the whole service, asked permission to accompany him, it was easily granted. In a miserable shanty, on a rough straw bed laid on the ground, the sufferer awaited his final deliverance; the family retired as far as they could, some went out, the minister stood watching, but distant as the others. The dying man's confession was heard. Holy Viatecum administered, Extreme Unction given, and a few words of prayer and consolation, all in the simplest manner of such Catholic ministrations, but the Presbyterian seemed deeply moved, and, as the Bishop left the shanty, he took his hand, saying: "God bless you, that was very touching." It is to be hoped that God continued

to give him light and grace, thus perfecting the good work then begun in him.

At 7½ that night, Feb. 10, the Bishop preached to a large audience, mostly Protestants, in the Court House of Bath; he heard confessions, said Mass, and gave Communion in a private house; and at 11 A. M., again preached in the Court House; then started in intensely cold weather for Greenwood. A good man had given a large lot; a log church had been erected, but not finished. The congregation appeared truly fervent. The Bishop heard confessions, said Mass, preached, gave communion to many, and confirmed 55 persons.

On the 14th, he started for Scio, 20 miles distant, found people assembled, catechised the children, gave an instruction, &c. The Rev. Thos. M'Evoy accompanied the Bishop. His labor must have been herculean, having to attend so vast an extent of country . . . At Scio, the Bishop confirmed 42.

In the evening drive to the next post, they got lost, and stopped at a tavern, and, whilst taking dinner, the good aged host and hostess told them frankly all the bad that they believed of Catholics. The Bishop kindly corrected their statements; Mr. McEvoy took their part and pressed the Protestant arguments strongly on the Bishop, who thus had an opportunity, which he did not expect, of removing prejudices from the minds of these good people. When the time came for starting, the Bishop asked them frankly what and who they thought their guests to be. They answered that they thought Mr. McEvoy to be a lawyer, and the other a Catholic Priest.

It was 9 o'clock at night when they reached their post near Hornby House. The wagon in which they rode was almost miraculously saved from sliding down the icy, precipitous road, which then led from the top of the precipice over the tunnel to Smith's Mills, near Portageville. Hornby House was used for a Chapel. The Bishop and Mr. McEvoy heard Confessions from early morning till 2 in the evening, when the Mass began; the Bishop, as usual, preached before the Mass to explain to the many Protestants, not without use even to many Catholics, the sacred act and its venerable ceremonies; again, at the gospel, on the Eternal Truths, then, after Mass, on Confirmation or Baptism. A great number, some who had not approached for many years, went to Communion; 41 were confirmed. They were all adults. About 5 P. M., breakfast was prepared for them.

On the 19th February, the Bishop returned to Buffalo from his visit of more than a month through part of the Diocese.[12]

In the Spring Bishop Timon again took up the work, continuing his visitation of the Diocese through Dansville, Scottsville, Greece, etc., preaching, confessing, and confirming in each place. He reached Canandaigua, May 6, 1848. The following day he sang a Pontifical High Mass and dedicated the

Church, begun by Father Bernard O'Reilly while Pastor of St. Patrick's, and nearly completed by his brother and successor, Father William O'Reilly. Bishop Timon "reached Rochester on the 11th May, much fatigued; but a messenger came for a sick call at Portageville, a journey of 14 hours. As Rev. Wm. O'Reilly was hearing Confessions of the children, the Bishop started at 8 A. M., reached the sick person at 10 P. M., after continuous and fatiguing travel, found that there was no real need, and returned in time to sing the High Mass in St. Joseph's, Rochester, and to confirm 190, preaching in German before and after Confirmation. In the evening, he sang Pontifical Vespers in St. Mary's Church, preached, and confirmed 167. At night, he lectured in St. Patrick's Church."[13]

Such apostolic missionary journeys were frequently undertaken and successfully accomplished by the indefatigable Bishop during the twenty years of his laborious episcopate, although they alone required almost superhuman energy. Nevertheless, his activities were not limited to the ordinary episcopal functions—visitations, confirmations, dedication of churches, laying of cornerstones, &c. He appeared here and there throughout his vast diocese, when neither priest nor people expected him, ever watchful of the flock entrusted with their priest to his care. Devoted to the preaching of the Word of God, he frequently occupied pulpits of different tongues, even when no special episcopal function required his presence there. A word of pleasant encouragement was ever on his lips for Catholic education at the Commencement exercises of the schools established in the Diocese. Thus in Rochester his presence often encouraged the Sisters of Charity, the Sisters of Mercy, and the Christian Brothers in their respective establishments. Charity also often enlisted his services as a forcible public lecturer in Rochester for the benefit of the St. Vincent de Paul Society, of St. Mary's Hospital in charge of the Sisters of Charity, of the House of Mercy established by the Sisters of Mercy. These lectures delivered in St. Mary's Church or in the Corinthian Hall brought together, at the nominal entrance fee of a shilling, vast audiences of Catholics and Protestants. The choice of subjects for at least three lectures in Corinthian Hall seemed especially made in view of the Protestant section of the audience. They were 1—December 8, 1856, Purgatory; 2—January 5, 1857, A mere man can-

not forgive sins; 3—January 27, 1861, The Different States of Departed Spirits from Death to Judgment.[14] When the Papacy was much maligned before the public, Bishop Timon, in a public lecture, rallied to the defence of the Pope and his government against the hostility of Napoleon, Sardinia, and England.[15] If he failed to make converts of all his hearers, his earnest eloquence and his utmost respect for those who differed from him in faith appealed to Protestants, so that the literary association of the Athenaeum in Rochester had him lecture in Corinthian Hall before its members, December 28, 1865. Bishop Timon chose as the subject of this lecture the first verse of the first chapter of Genesis, describing the beginning of things in this universe. A well informed gentleman declared that it was one of the very few lectures listened to for many years that really deserved the name.

> It was on topics requiring research beyond the means and time of the mass of the people, and full of instruction which lies not in the way of common life. Of but few can this be said. Common platitudes and old truisms, mixed up with threadbare jokes and anecdotes, delivered with more or less oratorical effect and theatrical energy, make up the capital stock of most of our professional lecturers. People go to hear them for amusement, and not instruction, and if they are disappointed, it is because the wit of the speaker fails to please. Such should not be the purpose of these entertainments. A higher standard should be sought far beyond and above the low stratum of current literature, which is now accessible to everybody.
>
> Those who went from an earnest desire to be instructed in the great events of Bible History could not but have been gratified by the plain, concise, and yet comprehensive manner in which these events were treated. Those who went to be amused, or expected to pass away an hour in listening to a sensational discourse did not do well in going at all, and did much worse in leaving the hall during the lecture.[16]

Some of the audience evidently had not reached the higher standard of intellectual enjoyment of Bishop Timon's appreciative critic. Catholics themselves lacked better facilities of education at the beginning of his episcopate, and the first attempt at a school of higher grade than the ordinary parochial school of the time also proved to be a discouraging failure in Rochester. The prospectus of the College of the Sacred Heart, published in the *Catholic Almanac* of 1849 contains the best information regarding the enterprise.

This institution, recently established under the auspices of the Right Rev. John Timon, D.D., Bp. of Buffalo, is placed under the immediate conduct of Rev. Julian Delaune, late President of St. Mary's College, Ky., assisted by a competent faculty.

A pleasant and healthy location, with ample and commodious buildings and spacious recreation grounds, has been purchased for the purpose—being the corner of St. Paul's and Court Streets. The buildings, consisting of three large and elegantly finished four story mansions, occupy the most elevated ground of the city, and command a view of Rochester and its environs, including the Genesee River, Upper Falls, Acqueduct, and Mt. Hope Cemetery. The situation, together with its other advantages for health and comfort, combine those most indispensably necessary—pure air and excellent water.

The course of studies embraces all the literary branches usually taught in Collegiate Institutions.

The scholastic year commences on the 15th of September, and terminates on the last Thursday in July, Vacation ensues.

TERMS PER SCHOLASTIC YEAR.

Tuition, Board, Lodging, Fuel and Light	$130.00
Washing, with repairs of articles washed, (when done in the college)	10.00
Physician's fees, unless parents prefer incurring the risk of paying a full bill	5.00
	$145.00

Tuition in German, French, Spanish, and Italian, each (extra) $10.00. Half-boarders, viz., those who breakfast, dine, and study in the College are received at $100.

A charge of two dollars a week is made for those who remain in the College during vacation. Infirmary expenses, when a nurse is required, are two dollars a week extra.

Books, Stationery, and Medicine are furnished at current prices by the College, or as parents and guardians may direct.

No student is received for a shorter term than half a year; nor is any one permitted to leave the College during the scholastic year, except in case of sickness or for other important reasons; and no deduction is made for an absence of less than a month.

All charges are invariably required to be paid half yearly in advance.

Every student is expected to be provided with two winter and two summer suits of clothes, six shirts, six pairs of socks, four handkerchiefs, and four towels.

Letters, except to and from parents and guardians, are subject to the inspection of the President; and all letters to the College officers are to be prepaid.

Correct reports, stating the behavior, health, progress, and application of their children and wards, are semi-annually transmitted to parents and guardians.

Day scholars are received at the following rates, per quarter of eleven weeks:

Tuition in the elementary branches, viz: Spelling, Reading, Writing, and Arithmetic	$3.00
English, Grammar, Geography, and History	4.00
Geometry, Algebra, Surveying, Use of the Globes, Book-keeping	5.00
Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Astronomy, Rhetoric, Belles Lettres, Logic	6.00
All or any of the above branches, including the Greek and Latin Classics	7.00

Private examinations take place monthly; public semi-annually. The year closes with a review of the exercises in every department. Honors are conferred according to merit; and on this occasion parents and guardians are particularly requested to be present.

This Institution has especially in view the promotion of morals in youth; and, as a Catholic Institution, the instrution and conduct of Catholic youth in the principles and practice of their religion.

Every one is obliged, when in health, to attend punctually to the religious exercises of the house, and to devote a seasonable time to preparation for the sacraments. With this intention, a short spiritual retreat is given in the early part of the year, and facilities are provided for the reception of the sacraments at proper times. At the period of the first communion (a most important one), peculiar advantages of appropriate instruction and retirement are enjoyed by students of this Institution.

The government is paternal; the discipline mild, but strict; and due vigilance is exercised over the health, appearance, comfort, and happiness of the students. Diligence is encouraged by rewards. Insubordination, or violation of rule is punished by private admonition, public reprimand, or otherwise, according to the nature and circumstance of the offence. Incorrigible habits of ildeness or of misconduct, profane or obscene language, or any gross breach of order are punished with dismissal.

One day every week is allotted to recreation, when the students accompanied by tutors visit the country or resort to various amusements, calculated to unbend the mind and afford healthful exercise to the body.[17]

The President's references were Right Rev. John Timon, D.D., Very Rev. B. O'Reilly, Buffalo; Rev. L. Carroll, Rochester; and Rev. Charles D. McMullen, Lockport. The President, however, was not the owner of the College, as is evident from "An Act to incorporate a seminary of education, under the name of the Academy of the Sacred Heart. Passed April 11, 1849."

The people of the State of New York, represented in Senate and Assembly, do enact as follows:

1. Jesse A. Auchinbaugh, of the city of Rochester, in the County of Monroe, is hereby declared and constituted a corporation, with succession by his executors or trustees, to be duly appointed by his last will and testament, by the name and style of the Academy of the Sacred Heart, to be located in the city of Rochester aforesaid, for the purpose of establishing, maintaining, and conducting a seminary of education.

2. The corporation hereby created shall possess the powers and be subject to the provisions contained in the fourth article of the first title of the fifteenth chapter, and the third title of the eighteenth chapter of the first part of the Revised Statutes, so far as the same are applicable, and so far as is consistent with the present constitution.

3. The said corporation shall be entitled to the share of the literature fund, or the income thereof, whenever it shall have complied with the fiscal and other requisites conditions, which would authorize the regents of the university to incorporate an academy, and shall enjoy such share as long as it shall, in all respects and at all times, comply with such conditions.

4. Nothing herein contained shall be construed to exempt the said A. Auchinbaugh and such executors or trustees from legal liability for contracts made or to be made by him or them concerning the said institution; and he or they shall be legally liable for the debts of said corporation, to the same extent and in the same manner as if they acted in their individual capacity; but the real and personal estate actually belonging to the said institution and devoted to and used exclusively thereby, shall stand on the same ground, as to taxation, as if it belonged to any ordinary academical incorporation.

5. This act shall take effect immediately.[18]

The religious life of the school is emphasized in the prospectus. Nevertheless, the College has been regarded as a purely secular school for Catholic boys. However, an interesting letter to Bishop McCloskey of Albany discloses a school of quite another character.

Rochester, April 21st, 1849.

Rt. Rev. Dear Friend:

The College of the Sacred Heart, opened under the auspices of Bishop Timon in Sept. last, has been established chiefly for the purpose of receiving youths intended for the ministry and of inspiring them with the spirit of their vocation. It has been our intention to do this either *gratis* or at as moderate a charge as the institution can at any time afford. Hitherto we have not received any under the terms of the prospectus. But we have lately ascertained that a few may be received at $100 for Tuition, Board, Lodging, Wash-

ing, Fuel & Light, *per Scholastic year.* Bishop Timon also approves of these terms, but knows of none at present in his diocese whom to recommend. I have, therefore, taken the liberty to say to you, as my old preceptor and friend, that, should you desire to recommend any in your diocese to come here on these terms, they will be most cheerfully received. I may add also that some talented and well disposed youths, intended for secular life, who might in time be a service and honor to the institution, but whose resources are too limited to come up to the terms of our prospectus will be received at some reduction, proportionate to the parents' abilities. However, the lowest terms for any such could not be under $120 for the privileges as above, *per Scholastic year.*

I remain truly
Your most obt sert
J. A. AUGHINBAUGH
agt/ Col. Sacd. Ap.[19]

RT. REV. D. J. MCCLOSKEY DD
Albany, N. Y.

It was unfortunate that the President of the College, the Reverend Julian Delaune, was compelled by ill health to abandon the newly established College, and seek a cure in his native country. He died soon after an operation in Paris, May 4, 1849, in the very prime of his life, as he was only about 37 years of age.[20] Immediately there arose the difficulty of finding a competent successor to the Presidency of the College. At Rochester, the pastor of Rosiere, Father Guth, seemed to be the right man for the place, and he informed his own Bishop, the Rt. Rev. J. McCloskey of Albany, of the overtures he had received "to take charge of the college of the Sacred Heart. The Bishop of Buffalo never wrote to me on the subject; but I know indirectly that he will receive me in his diocese, and will even give another priest in my place. The situation does not seem very enviable; but, as I always preferred instruction to the ministry, I would willingly accept the offer. I hope that Bishop Timon will send you in my place some clerical article worth more than your humble servant. I might stay here till the latter part of September, but I would wish to see the matter decided as soon as possible, chiefly on account of the prospectus to be given out shortly. I would be glad to see my successor here before leaving on account of my furniture, implements, and stock on the farm, and some other important matters concerning which I shall write you again." Although Bishop Timon had not taken the initiative in the

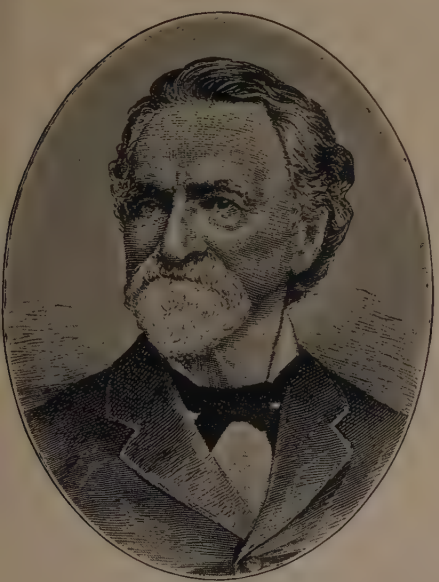
MICHAEL O'BRIEN

Rector of St. Patrick's Church
1855-1859; 1860-1865
Vicar General for the Rochester District

PATRICK KEARNEY

A Founder of the Rochester Clothing Industry (Peck), which O'Reilly's list of "Tailors and Dealers in Clothing" in his Sketches makes largely Catholic.

(*Painting in possession of his grandson, Mr. Frank J. Hone*)



HENRY O'REILLY

Henry O'Reilly was born in Ireland, Feb. 6, 1806, several years editor of the "Rochester Daily Advertiser," established in 1826; pioneer local historian ("Sketches of Rochester," 1838); Rochester Postmaster 1838-1842; long distance telegraph builder, whose lines with some others formed the basis of the Western Union (Peck); died at St. Mary's Hospital, a few hours after Extreme Unction, Aug. 17, 1886.

matter, he wrote Bishop McCloskey, August 27, 1849: "As I think the college must go down, if some capable priest be not at the head; and as I heard a very good account of Mr. Guth, the arrangement would please me much, and so I remarked to the persons who spoke to me. I was informed that you would easily grant him his exeat. I would even be very willing, if I could get one to go to supply his place. But what you mention of qualifications makes it impossible, for I have no one who possesses the languages you require, except the elder Gieth, and you may judge that it is no use to think of him."[22] The Pastor of Rosiere was not released from his charge and the difficulty of filling the presidency of the College remained. The school still advertised the resumption of its third annual course of studies and exercises, September 16, 1850,[23] but after that school year no further mention is found of its activities anywhere.

No further attempt was made to provide better educational facilities for Catholic boys until the advent of the Reverend Michael O'Brien as successor to the Very Reverend William O'Reilly in the pastorate of St. Patrick's Church, in the summer of 1855.[24] In answer to an appeal for funds, wealthy and benevolent members of the congregation subscribed generous contributions. A lot, two hundred feet square, was purchased for $8000, at the corner of Brown and Frank Streets, on the fine elevation so long known as Brown's Hill from its former owner, Dr. Brown. The work was begun almost immediately, and progressed so rapidly that the foundations were ready for the corner stone by the beginning of September. The memorable event was briefly described in a parchment, deposited under the corner stone in a box, containing a collection of coins and a number of religious and secular newspapers.

> The corner stone of the new Academy, under the invocation of St. Patrick, designed by the distinguished Architect, P. C. Keely, Esq. of the city of Brooklyn, was laid in Rochester, Monroe Co., State of New York, on the 2nd of Sept., 1855, by Patrick Kearney, a citizen of the said city, remarkable alike for his integrity and charity. Our most Holy Father, Pius the Ninth, was the reigning Pontiff, the Right Reverend and Most Illustrious John Timon, D.D., Bishop of the Diocese of Buffalo, and Rev. Michael O'Brien, Pastor of St. Patrick's Church. Franklin Pierce was the President of the United States, and Myron H. Clark Governor of the State of New

York. The Building Committee were Messrs. Owen Gaffney, Patrick Kearney, Michael Lester, Michael Wall, James Connelly, James O'Donoghue, George A. Wilkin, Daniel Waters, James McDonnell, and James Cunningham. F. V. B. Kennedy, Esq., Attorney and Counsellor-at-law, late of New York City, now of Rochester, delivered to an immense assembly, on the occasion, a learned and eloquent oration.

The projectors of the establishment designed it for the education of the youth of all denominations, and so planned to accommodate one thousand day scholars, and one hundred boarders in the buildings when all completed. For the time, however, only one wing, 35 feet by 80, with room for about 400 day scholars, was to be erected, and the further development was only described for the public according to plan.

The main building will be in the Italian style of architecture, 140 feet long, 80 feet wide, and three stories high, from which will project two wings.—The apartment on the ground floor will be as follows: One school room, 80 by 32 feet, four class rooms, 30 by 35 feet each, a large hall, parlor, and reception room, with stair cases front and rear.—Second story: Room, 80 by 32 feet, four class rooms, library, and two chambers. Third Story: Four dormitories, 35 by 40 feet each, four chambers for the Brothers, wash rooms, baths, &c., also a large infirmary and medicine rooms. In the basement of the eastern wing to be erected will be a kitchen, 30 by 40 feet, refectory, 30 by 35 feet, pantries, closets, &c.

The design shows large breaks in front, a fine portico, and bay windows. The whole will be surmounted by a handsome cupola. When completed, the edifice will be one of the finest in the State, and a model in point of convenience and architectural beauty.[25]

While the Academy was building, Bishop Timon thought of an institution of even higher learning. According to his Diary, he spoke as early as April 5, 1856, to Rev. McEvoy about the College and noted the result: "He embraces the idea, promises to speak to Mr. Creedon and J. O'Brien." The next month, May 12, 1856, there was a meeting of priests for the College, at which Bishop Timon agreed, as he writes in his Diary, "that Mr. Creedon shall be president, McEvoy V. P., T. O'Brien econom; that St. Mary's shall remain with them; Mr. O'Brien give up the Immaculate Conception." Finances, however, proved to be troublesome, and Bishop Timon evidenced his surprise in Auburn at Mr. Creedon's suggestion about the College. He, therefore, wrote in his Diary under date of June 3, 1856: "Thinks I should some way find for them an endow-

ment of 2 or 3000$ yearly for 4 or 5 years!" Ten days later Bishop Timon wrote of his visit in Rochester that "McEvoy and O'Brien had given up the intention of a college." They had, in fact, enough to do with the Academy.

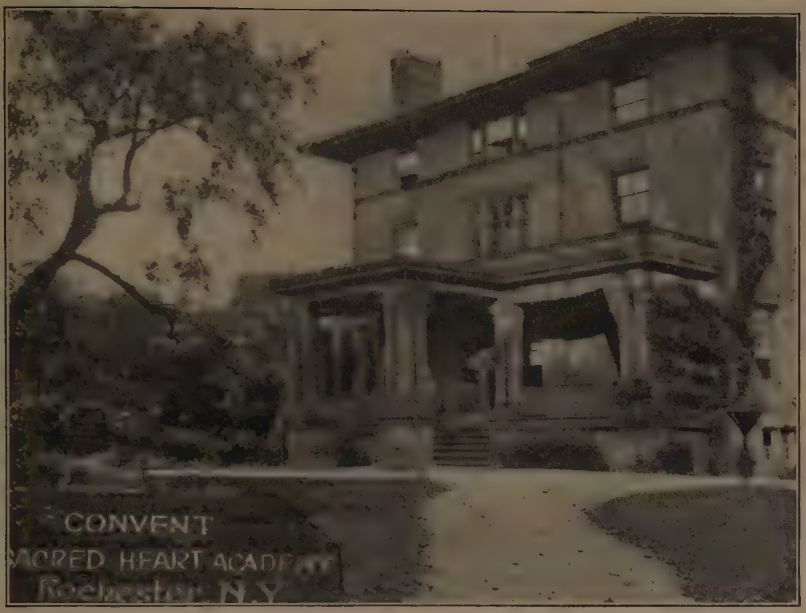
It took more than a year to build the one wing, and even this could not be done by the Managers without incurring considerable debts. To liquidate these, and to obtain the necessary funds to furnish the Academy for the reception of pupils, the Catholic Ladies of the City held a fair for the benefit of the new Academy in Palmer's Hall during the Christmas week of 1856, and cleared over $2000.[26] By the following Spring, everything was ready in the School, which was solemnly dedicated by Bishop Timon, in the presence of at least 3000 persons, Sunday, March 8, 1857. The Christian Brothers, whom the Managers had been able to obtain from the main house of the Order at Manhattanville near New York, were already at hand, and began the examination of candidates for admission the very next day.[27] The curriculum comprised the different branches required for a thorough commercial education, with music and the modern languages of German and French in addition to English. Instruction in Religion and Christian Philosophy made it a distinctively Catholic School.

The financial condition of the school made it impossible to do more at the beginning than to organize the pay department, though it was planned, at some future date, also to open a free department. No other policy was advisable at the time, as the building fund had not been cleared entirely of its indebtedness, owing to the financial crisis that had made hard times to be felt in all quarters and classes of society. Many were deprived of the means to meet the subscriptions promised at the beginning of the enterprise. The Catholic Ladies again came to the relief of the Academy with a Christmas Fair.[30] Thenceforth, a Ladies' Fair appears as an annual Festival in aid of the Christian Brothers' Academy. This support apparently made it possible to organize the free department earlier than had been at first anticipated, as the Fair advertisement of 1859 already announced that, "of the pupils taught since the beginning of school one half, or 150, have been free scholars." Both departments showed a healthy increase throughout the period of Bishop Timon's administration of the Diocese. The Managers, however, were unable to realize

the magnificent development of the original projectors of the enterprise.

Each religious order of women, that established itself in Rochester and vicinity, gave its attention to the education and training of Catholic girls. With the Sisters of Charity and the Sisters of Mercy, the work in each case was divided between an Academy or Select School and a Free School. The former came to Rochester, and were settled in St. Patrick's Parish in 1845;[32] the latter were brought to St. Mary's Parish in 1857 from Providence.[33] The *Catholic Almanac* of 1855 has the Sisters of Notre Dame in charge of the girls in the parochial school attached to St. Joseph's Church, and four years later also of the girls in St. Peter's parochial school.[34] The relative size of these free schools is best determined by the figures given for the first time in the list of the *Catholic Almanac* in 1859; St. Patrick's, 150 pupils; St. Mary's, 200 pupils, St. Joseph's, 450 pupils; St. Peter's, 200 pupils.[35] The two academies or select schools had not more than fifty pupils each, except when the Sisters of Charity counted into the attendance about the same number of orphans, that were under their charge in St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum.[36] Bishop Timon would have been pleased if the Select School had been fused into the Free School. He tried to effect this in Rochester Sept. 5, 1857, as he wrote in his Diary under that date: "I desire to suppress Select Schools—they oppose it—yield to keep both."

Apparently no attempt at more than primary education was made in the Rochester Catholic Schools for girls, except by the Ladies of the Sacred Heart, who transferred their Convent from Buffalo to Rochester in 1855 as a more central location for their Academy.[37] A suitable site was found on North St. Paul St., opposite Pleasant St., where there was a house and lot, for which Dr. Elwood, its owner, was paid $11,500. The lot had a front on St. Paul St., of 153 feet, and the same rear on Water St., and the depth was more than 200 feet.[38] In 1857, the Convent, which hitherto had also been used for collegiate purposes, was found inadequate to answer increasing demands. A large additional building was consequently erected to provide for dormitories, class rooms, and other purposes, affording ample accommodations to boarders and select pupils of the College.[39] The prospectus of the Academy



There is no picture of the Sacred Heart Academy on N. St. Paul St. This is the Academy on Prince St., before the additions of Bishop McQuaid's time.

CONVENT OF THE SISTERS OF MERCY

he house to the right was added to the original building that also had no porch. The unattached house the extreme right was the first St. Mary's Boys' Orphan Asylum in charge of the Sisters of St. Joseph.

in the *Catholic Almanac* of 1857 gives ample information in regard to organization and equipment.

> This institution is situated in the most healthy part of the city, and combines, in its plan of education, together with the benefit of Christian instruction, every advantage that can be derived from the most punctual and conscientious care bestowed on the pupils in every branch of science suitable to their sex. Uninterrupted care is given to form the manners and principles of the young ladies, and train them up to habits of order, politeness, neatness, and industry.
>
> The diet is excellent and abundant. The health of the pupils is an object of constant solicitude, and, in sickness, they are attended with maternal care. Difference of religion will be no obstacle to the admission of young ladies, who are willing to conform to the general regulations of the school.
>
> Tuition.—The course of Instruction comprises: Reading, grammar, writing, plain and ornamental, analysis, arithmetic, book-keeping, algebra, history, sacred, profane, and natural, geography, ancient and modern, philosophy, mental and natural, chemistry, astronomy, use of the globes, delineation of maps, rhetoric, geometry, logic, domestic economy, needle work, plain and fancy, embroidery of every description, &c.

Terms—Board and tuition,	per	annum	$130.00
Books and stationery	"	"	10.00
Physican's fee	"	"	3.00
Washing	"	"	16.00
Music lessons on the piano	"	"	40.00
Use of Piano	"	"	12.00

> Lessons on the harp, drawing, and painting in various styles, Spanish, German, Italian, &c., are extra charges. The French language, being spoken by the members of the Institution, is taught in every department, and forms no extra charge. Terms for day pupils per annum, payable quarterly in advance, $40.
>
> References: Abp. Hughes, Rt. Rev. Timon, &c. Of the Laity: O. Gaffney, Esq., of Rochester; H. Bradley, M.D., do; T. Bradley, M. D., do; P. Kearney, Esq., do; P. Barry, Esq., do; C. J. Burke, Esq., do; J. O'Donoghue, Esq., do; J. Cunningham, Esq., do; E. Duffy, Esq., do; J. Hayes, Esq., Lockport; D. Sharp, Esq., Greece.[40]

In spite of the flattering prospectus and the removal of the Institution to a more desirable location on Prince St., in 1863, Sacred Heart Academy had no larger average attendance than the Select Schools mentioned above, with both boarders and day pupils included.[41]

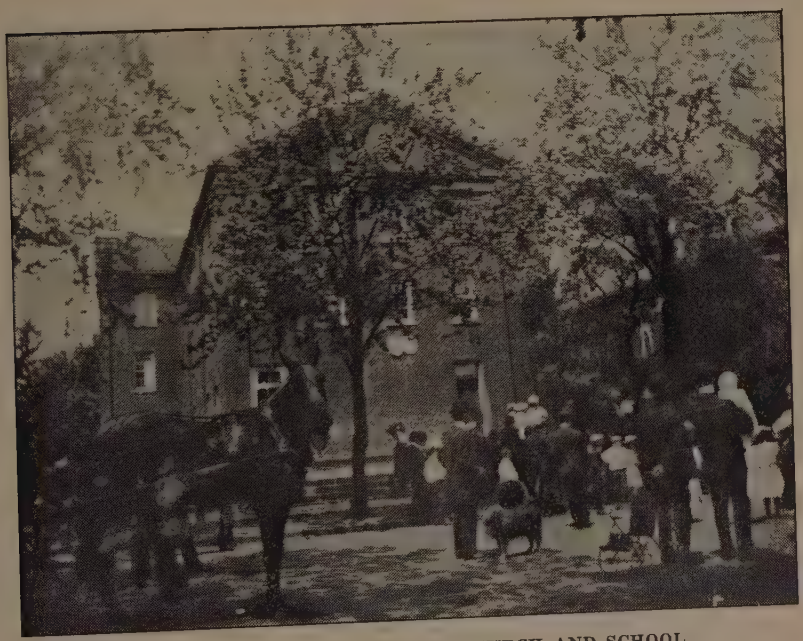
Outside of Rochester, two towns were also privileged with Catholic Academies for girls, Canandaigua and Perkinsville, and in both places the religious in charge also had a free

school. The *Catholic Almanac* of 1857 states, in regard to Perkinsville, that "a boarding school for German girls has been lately opened at this place by members of the order of St. Dominic," and these Nuns are also said to conduct a Free School.[42] In the following year, both schools are said to be in charge of the Grey Sisters,[43] and in 1859 the Free School at Perkinsville, with its 170 pupils, is said to be in charge of the Sisters of Notre Dame, and no mention is made of the boarding school.[44] At Canandaigua, a colony of Sisters of St. Joseph from Carondolet, Missouri, arrived on the 8th of December 1854, a date memorable in the annals of the Catholic Church for the definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin. They came, at the invitation of the Pastor, Reverend Edmund O'Connor and of Bishop Timon, to establish the first Convent of this Order in the State of New York, with a novitiate for postulants that was later removed to Buffalo.[45] In 1855, these Sisters opened a school for the children of the parish, containing boys and girls, and also St. Mary's Academy for Young Ladies. The *Catholic Almanac* also gives the first prospectus of this second school in its issue of 1856.

> This institution, under the charge of the Sisters of St. Joseph, located in one of the most healthy and beautiful parts of the State, is easy of access. The N. Y. Central R. R. passes through here. The Canandaigua and Elmira, connecting with the N. Y. and Erie R. R., terminates here, as do also the Canandaigua and Niagara Falls, connecting with the Canada and Great Western R. R.
>
> The system of education embraces every useful and ornamental branch suitable for young ladies.
>
> Terms,—Board and tuition for the scholastic year payable half-yearly in advance $80.00
> Washing, mending, bed and bedding 10.00
> Each pupil will pay on entrance 5.00
>
> Music, drawing, and the languages will form extra charges. Books, stationery, and postage charged to parents. No deduction will be made to any pupil, leaving the Institution before the expiration of the term, unless in case of sickness.
>
> The scholastic year commences on the 1st Monday of September, ending the 17th of July.
>
> All communications to be addressed to St. Mary's Convent, Canandaigua, N. Y.[46]

Here the division of educational work also came to be opposed by Bishop Timon. During a visit to the Convent, he decided, February 5, 1861, "that all things must be *suspended*

ST. BRIDGET'S CHURCH
Later remodeled into a school.



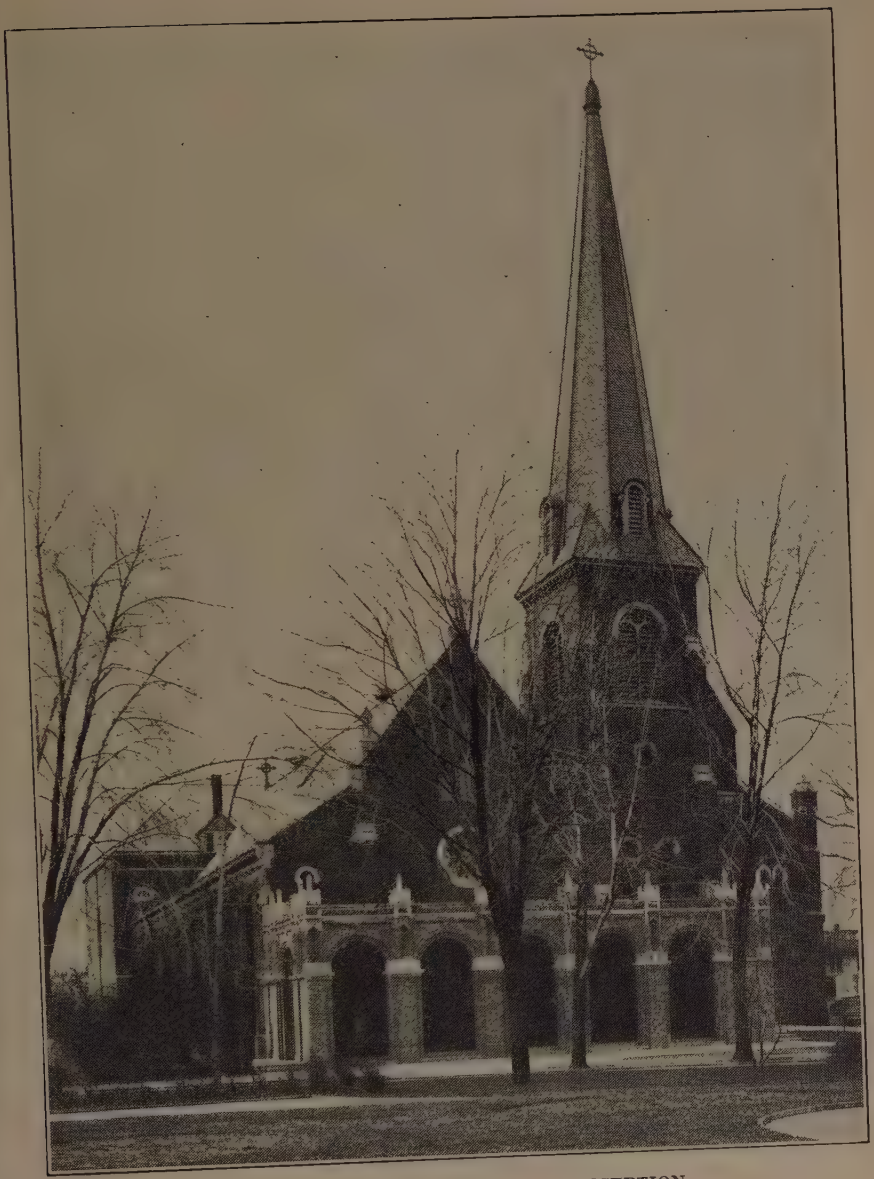
ST. BONIFACE'S COMBINATION CHURCH AND SCHOOL
(By Courtesy of the Catholic Journal)

except a Parish School in which Select and Free shall combine." Nevertheless, Bishop Timon found it necessary, November 14, 1863, to "engage the Pastor . . . to have no Select School, but a general one for all." Even this was not effective, so that Bishop Timon, March 8, 1864, again gave orders at Canandaigua "to put the two schools together." He was evidently working for a real parochial school system, in which there was no room for the Select School. It was, no doubt, for the welfare of such a system of Catholic education that he had a long talk, January 19, 1865, with Mr. Rice, the General Superintendent of Schools, in Albany, who "concedes much". According to his Diary, he then saw the "Very Rev. Conroy about naming Dr. O'Callaghan, Ch. O'Connor, or Mr. Brady to the vacant place in the Regents of the University; Show how unjust that the Catholics, 1/3 of the population, should not have one Regent out of 23. He agrees to make efforts."

Churches multiplied more rapidly in the Rochester District than Catholic Schools. In the City itself, an additional church was found to be necessary for the Catholic residents of Cornhill, and in the Spring of 1849, they erected the Immaculate Conception Church, on Edinburgh St., under the direction of its first Pastor, Rev. John Fitzpatrick.[47] Five years later the growth of the Catholic population in the northeastern section of the City made imperative the organization of another parish, and St. Bridget's Church was built on Summit Pk. (Hand St.), for the "Catholic population of that portion of this city lying north of Atwater Street (Central Ave.), and east of the Genesee River, known as the Dublin District."[48] Both these churches were mainly for Irish Catholics. Soon increasing immigration from Germany overtaxed the resources of the churches of St. Joseph and St. Peter. In the South of the City, St. Boniface's Parish was organized in 1860,[49] and two years later steps were taken to form Holy Family Parish in the Dutchtown district of Rochester, but here the Church was not finished till the Summer of 1864.[50] Then plans were also under way for the creation of a German parish just outside of the limits of the northeastern section of the City, and its Church became the first of any denomination established in the town of Irondequoit. The district, however, was soon separated from this township, and joined to the

City Corporation. This was called Holy Redeemer's Church from its connection with the Redemptorists at St. Joseph's, its founders, who are also responsible for the names of the streets in the tract beyond the Church. Before the building was completed, Bishop Timon had died, and the Diocese of Rochester had been created.[51]

Meanwhile, considerable improvements had been made in the newer as well as in the older Churches. The Immaculate Conception Church soon proved too small. Less than five years after its foundation, an effort was made to raise funds, with which to build a new church,[52] but nothing was apparently done till the autumn of 1858, when the old church was supplied with gas, and otherwise improved and beautified.[53] Yet with all this, the Church was not valued at more than $7000 when destroyed by fire, which was communicated to it from a neighboring burning house during the night, February 23, 1864.[54] An insurance of only $1500, the saving of the organ, altar, furniture, &c., gave but little help in building the new brick church, which cost $35,000.[55] Doubtless they found some encouragement in what had been accomplished by St. Mary's Parish, which ten years before this had sold their old church edifice on South St. Paul St.,[56] and then built one of the finest churches in Rochester on Washington Square. The Corner stone was laid by Bishop Timon, in the presence of an immense congregation of people, Sunday, September 18, 1853.[57] It took another five years to build the new church at a cost of $40,000, so that its consecration could only take place, October 24, 1858, with Bishop Timon officiating and Bishop McCloskey preaching.[58] Just a year later, Bishop Timon also dedicated St. Bridget's Church, which had been completely refitted and redecorated as well as enlarged.[59] Earlier in the Summer, June 26, 1859, the laying of the Corner Stone of the new Church of Sts. Peter and Paul by Bishop Young of Erie ushered in an era of peace and prosperity for old St. Peter's Parish that needed the additional patronage of the Apostle of the Gentiles to keep from it former strife and discord.[60] Seven years later a church tower was added, for which Bishop Timon blessed two bells, September 9, 1866.[61] Similar finishing touches had been given before to St. Joseph's Church. When this edifice was erected, the front was carried up for the steeple to the height of seventy-five feet in nicely



CHURCH OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

Substantially built to replace the first church, destroyed by fire, Feb. 23, 1864, of which there is no picture obtainable. The porch was added in Father O'Neil's time.

(By courtesy of the Catholic Journal)

dressed Lockport stone. In the Spring of 1857, a contract was made with George Wagner to carry up the steeple in wood to the height of ninety-eight feet for $4000. Three bells were also ordered for the steeple from Menelly's foundry, Troy, with the weight specified respectively at 2800 lbs., 1575 lbs., and 1000 lbs.[62] The old church on Ely St., was still in use as St. Mary's French Church, but each year made the old structure more and more untenable. Finally, in July, 1867, its pastor, Reverend H. De Regge, was forced by its condition to purchase a lot on Pleasant St., for $5000, as the site of a new French Church, under the patronage of our Lady of Victory.[63] Precisely at this time, St. Patrick's Parish, the oldest Catholic congregation of Rochester, was bringing nearer completion a very substantial church. The plans had been drawn by architect Keely of New York, while the work of supervision was done by a local architect, Mr. A. J. Warner.[64] Although a set of plans had been on exhibition in the Rectory as early as the beginning of 1854,[65] nothing was done for years, and it became necessary to thoroughly overhaul, paint, and decorate, and furnish with gas the interior of the old church during a part of May and all of June, 1858. During these weeks, the Congregation had to attend Mass and Vespers on Sundays in Corinthian Hall, which was hired for the purpose, until the Church was solemnly reopened for public worship, July 4, 1858.[66] In fact, it was only in the Spring of 1864, that work was begun for the construction of the new church on the very site of the old edifice. This necessitated again a provisional place of worship, which was erected in the form of a temporary frame building, the Shanty Church, about the same size as the old church, on the lot of the Christian Brothers' Academy.[67] Work on the foundations of the new church progressed far enough during the Summer to allow the laying of the corner stone by Bishop Timon, October 9, 1864.[68] Nevertheless, the church was still building when Bishop McQuaid arrived in the Summer of 1868 to take possession of his see.

The Catholics of Rochester not only provided Churches for themselves, but they also contributed to the funds needed for the erection of a Cathedral in Buffalo. Bishop Timon had to allow four years to elapse after his arrival in his episcopal city before he could think of undertaking this work, as all the resources of Catholics were needed to promote the more neces-

sary works of religion. However, in response to the Bishop's appeal for financial help, a Ladies' Fair opened in Rochester, December 31, 1851, and closed January 3, 1852, affording the Catholics of this city the opportunity of contributing the sum of $1899.12 to the building fund of St. Joseph's Cathedral in Buffalo.[69]

Fairs such as these became almost an ordinary source of revenue for Church Support besides the usual collections, pew rent, and subscriptions. They are nearly always advertised as Ladies' Fairs, which was also the custom outside of the Catholic Church with festivals of this kind. The honor of the name was well merited, as the Ladies were no doubt largely responsible for the manufacture as well as for the donation and sale of the usual "very large and varied assortment of fancy and useful articles." Their services were also required at the Refreshment Tables well "supplied with Coffee, Oysters, Confectionaries, &c., of the best quality."[70] The price of the supper served is indicated only in the advertisements of Sts. Peter and Paul's Church, where it is once put at fifty cents, and at another time at one dollar, but then it includes a concert.[71] This seems to mean more than the customary fair music, designated at times by "An excellent Band in attendance." Occasionally the Ladies are declared free of the charge for admission,[72] the price of which is put either at ten cents, or at a shilling, or at fifteen cents. The sums realized varied a great deal, according to the parish and also the times. Thus the Immaculate Conception Parish cleared $1400 at the fair in the autumn of 1853,[73] and only $846 at the fair in the autumn of 1864.[74] No information is given by the press regarding the proceeds of the other church fairs announced for the Immaculate Conception, St. Joseph's, St. Mary's, St. Patrick's, and Sts. Peter and Paul's churches.

St. Bridget's Church apparently had a decided preference for what is known in those days as a Festival and Tea Party.[75] However, it was not exclusively a St. Bridget's institution, as Young Ladies of St. Mary's also advertised Tea Parties as sources of revenue for the building fund of their new church.[76] Unlike a fair, this festival was held for only one night, and usually in Palmer's Hall on Main St., where "various amusements and entertainments" were advertised on one occasion,[77] "a grand display of fireworks and an exhibition of wax figures

HOLY FAMILY COMBINATION CHURCH, SCHOOL AND RECTORY
The sacristy of the present church.

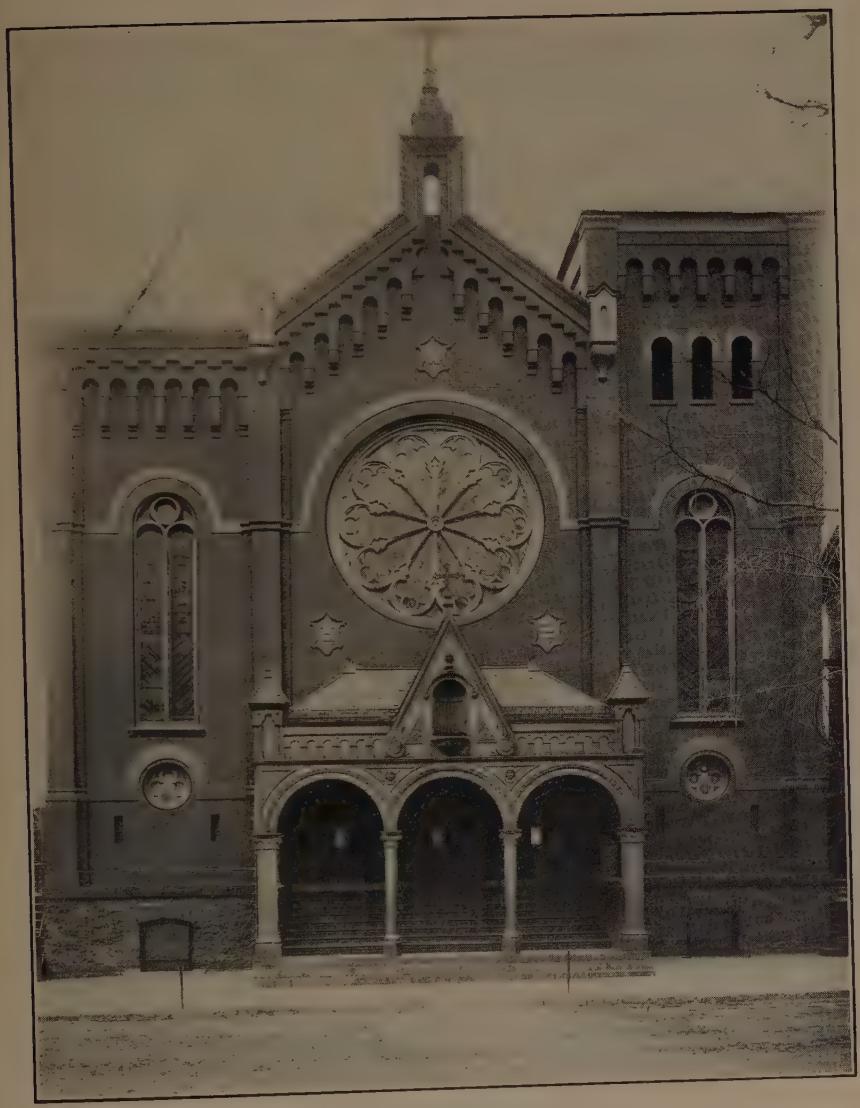
HOLY REDEEMER'S COMBINATION CHURCH, SCHOOL AND CONVENT
Razed to make room for new school.

and Cosmoramas" at another time,[78] and again a Supper and Concert.[79] A Christmas Festival held by the Immaculate Conception Church at Military Hall, corner Buffalo and S. Sophia Strs., December 25, 1855, looks a great deal like the Festival and Tea Party, as it also included a supper as well as music, vocal and instrumental.[80] An earlier "Church Benefit" of this parish must have been a little more elaborate, as it was also more costly, the price of admission being one dollar instead of the usual fifty cents. However, the dollar admitted a gentleman and two ladies. Children were admitted at half price. The advertisement declared that "the Committee of the Immaculate Conception Church on Cornhill have entered into arrangements with Mr. Palmer for a benefit for their Church on Wednesday Night, Oct. 23d, at 7½ P. M. [1850]. The entertainment will commence with Music by the Band, and the firing of Signal Rockets at intervals, after which the following brilliant Pieces of Fireworks will be exhibited in rapid succession: Diamond Cross, with Wheel and colored Rosettes; Pyramid of Roman Candles, ending with Mine of Serpents; Quadrangular Piece, commencing with Hexagon Wheel, and colored Fires; Persian Rose, and Mammoth Wheel, with brilliant lights; Magnificent Star, richly decorated with colored embellishments, and crimson and green fires."[81] The first Pastor of that Church evidently believed in good prices for church benefits, as the following year he planned a steam boat excursion on the Lake, for which the fare was also fixed at one dollar.[82]

The Concert furnished another method of raising funds for church purposes, and found considerable favor. Thus St. Bridget's gave a grand concert at Corinthian Hall, February 6, 1855, for the benefit of St. Bridget's Church which was still building. The instrumental music was by Scott's Band, and the vocal part of the program was rendered "by some amateurs of the city of the first order of home talent."[83] This could readily be recruited from a church choir, and the temptation arose to give a Sacred Concert in the Church itself, which was done at St. Bridget's, May 13, 1860, with Professor Barron as Director and Professor Robinson as pianist.[84] The example was followed elsewhere, and such Sacred Concerts were given subsequently for church revenue in St. Mary's French Church,[85] and repeatedly in the other St. Mary's, after

the erection of the new church on Washington Square.[86] However, the Choir of St. Joseph's Church, assisted by the Philharmonic Society, and Bauer's Brass Band, gave its vocal and instrumental concert in Washington Hall, September 1, 1863, where also a Grand Sacred Concert was given for the benefit of Holy Family Church, January 27, 1865. The Immaculate Conception Church also selected a public hall for its Sacred Concert, March 26, 1865, namely Sawyer's Hall, corner Buffalo St., and Plymouth Ave.[87] The admission price was usually fifty cents, although at times only twenty-five cents was asked, but in either case a neat sum must have been added to the church treasury. The great need of revenue no doubt blinded the clergy and laity to the unseemliness of the use of churches for purposes that only obtain amongst Protestants today, where the Church is hardly more than a hall.

A very peculiar case of using the church to raise revenue on a special occasion obtained in St. Joseph's Church, June 11, 1854, when Bishop Timon solemnly conferred the Holy Order of Priesthood on four clerical students of St. Joseph's Church. With it was connected at this time, according to the *Catholic Almanac,* the "House of Studies at Rochester, conducted by the Redemptorist Fathers, in which the students of the congregation, after having finished their literary course at Annapolis, Md., and that of Philosophy and Dogmatic Theology at Cumberland, Md., apply themselves to the study of Moral Theology."[88] Rev. F. Breska, Superior of St. Joseph's Church, published in the papers: "There is positively no admission without a ticket." The tickets for admission were advertised at one dollar—"to be had at the Office next East of and adjoining St. Joseph's Church during the week. The avails of admission will be applied, one half for the Bishop's Cathedral in Buffalo, the other half for a New Organ in St. Joseph's Church, Rochester."[89] About a month later, Bishop Timon ordained two young levites, Messrs. Purcell and Gleeson, to the Holy Priesthood in St. Patrick's Church, but there was no price of admission advertised on the occasion.[90] Tickets for admission were,however, issued at the price of fifty cents for the reopening of St. Patrick's Church, July 4, 1858, for the avowed "purpose of securing order and at the same time to lay the foundation for a building fund with which to erect a new church."[91] The same procedure was adopted at the con-



ST. MARY'S CHURCH.

Facing Washington Square, to which the Congregation moved from its first church on South Ave. The porch was added in Father Stewart's time.

(*By courtesy of the Catholic Journal*)

secration of St. Mary's Church, October 24, 1858. "A moderate sum has been fixed by the committee, which, it is hoped, no one will refuse to contribute, to aid a congregation which has persevered so nobly in finishing that church during the late financial crisis."[92] When St. Bridget's Church was reopened after its extensive repairs, &c., October 23, 1859, the opportunity for a special offering was also seized upon. "As neither the church nor those worshipping there are vain of their possessions of this world's goods, and as the expenses incurred are subjects of liquidation, a small offering—fifty cents—will be required from those who attend the service on Sunday."[93]

Depleted church treasuries were also helped some by the old church picnic, which tried to turn an honest penny for the church as well as to promote sociability, although the latter was sometimes endangered by differences arising between members of the same flock in spite of all the diplomacy of the pastor. Glenwood Grove was a favorite spot for these celebrations.[94] Thus St. Bridget's Church advertised a Grand Picnic, Thursday, September 1, 1864, with a Band of Music, refreshments of all kinds, and cars every ten minutes, and the tickets only fifteen cents. "A number of sports will take place such as Climbing the Greased Pole, Racing with Wheelbarrows, Racing with Sacks, Foot Racing, Base Ball Playing, &c. &c. A number of footballs will be on the ground for all that wish to engage in a social Kick. A number of valuable prizes will be offered."[95] A year later Patrick Golden and Michael Connolly, the Managers of the Rural Festival for the benefit of St. Patrick's Church, August 15, 1865, on Golden Flats in Chili, had an equally interesting program to advertise: "football, foot race, chasing a shaved pig, climbing a greased pole (on the top of which will be a pile of green backs for the lucky one), &c. Exercises commence precisely at 12 o'clock. Dinner. All for $1.00."[96] An advertisement of a picnic of the Immaculate Conception Church at Maple Grove, Wednesday, July 31, 1867, went way beyond all that had thus far been offered. After its list of sports, it declared: "While it is proposed to administer by a variety of rare amusements to the more ennobling pleasure of the intellect, a little Lager, with the Concomitant &cs., will nothwithstanding be thrown in to prevent too great enthusiasm."[97]

These are interesting side lights also for other church picnics celebrated summer after summer by each parish till they fell into desuetude by a change of times as well as of manners. Even in this period, an occasional protest was raised in Catholic circles against the continuous round of fairs, festivals, picnics, &c. Thus Father Daniel Moore of St. Mary's Church, Rochester, had occasion to explain his attitude in regard to the matter towards the end of January, 1861, in the *Rochester Daily Union and Advertiser.*

> Mr. Editor—Dear Sir:—From the comments, which appeared in your last evening's issue, relative to some remarks, which are said to have been made by me from the pulpit last Sunday, on the approaching Fair for the Catholic Orphans of this city, I perceive that you have been misinformed; and I now take the liberty of stating the substance of my remarks for the benefit of your Catholic readers, lest perhaps a wrong impression may have been left in the minds of any.
>
> The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Buffalo, in consideration of the stringency of the money market, requests the clergy and laity of this city to use more than their accustomed zeal in preparing for the Fairs to be held on St. Patrick's Day. In accordance with his wishes, I last Sunday exhorted the ladies of my parish to adopt at once some systematic effort in furtherance of this humane and holy object.
>
> In the course of my exhortation, I stated that I personally was not in favor of these ever-recurring and never-ending fairs and parties, which have become for many Catholics in this city a source of constant annoyance, and which divert our charity from the channel, wherein it ought to be principally employed, and where it is most needed—the support and education of our many abandoned children. The poor abandoned child and the helpless sick, I alone recognize as fit objects for the appeals, which are made to the public in the shape of Fairs and Parties, and my sentiments in this respect are shared by all the Catholic gentlemen of the city, with whom I happen to be intimately acquainted.
>
> Furthermore, as if to confirm my impressions, there appeared in the Buffalo "Sentinel" of last Saturday the paragraph, to which you have referred, taken from the Pittsburg "Catholic", wherein we find the Rt. Rev. Bishop of that See forbidding the holding of fairs for any other object but the support of the orphan. In Bishop Timon's organ, the paragraph was headed—"A step in the right direction." I need not say how happy I was that my views coincided with those of the pious Bishop of Pittsburg—and probably with those of Rt. Rev. Bishop of this Diocese, who has done so much for the orphans, and who is emphatically "the Father of the Orphan." But I assure you, I have not presumed to state from the pulpit that a law of this nature has any existence amongst the statutes of our Diocese. Though I must say, I wish it were so.

I am led to entertain these sentiments and to express them likewise principally by the contemplation of the odious tyranny, to which over twenty thousand Catholics in this community are subjected by the bigoted portion of the population in Monroe County. I do not refer to the legalized proselytism of the "House of Refuge," where a few gentlemen are invested with the power of prohibiting the exercise of the Catholic Religion to about two hundred children. Nor to the "House of Idle and Truant Children", wherein every poor little vagrant is imprisoned, and the Catholic priest is also virtually debarred. Nor to the "Friendless Home", where the dying girl is refused the last consolations of religion. Nor to many other illiberal acts of our poor-law officials.

I call the attention of Catholics of the city solely to the atrocious conduct of the well paid gentlemen, whom the law invests with the irresponsible authority of Superintendents of the Poor. These three gentlemen, more powerful than the triumvirate of pagan Rome, and more unscrupulous than the British Star Chamber, have the astounding audacity, in the face of this civilized community, to forbid me giving Catholic instruction to the eighty or ninety Catholic children, whom poverty and crime have congregated in that white washed sepulchre, called the Monroe County Almshouse! Herein, I am of the opinion, the Catholics of this city have a good subject for contemplation and a large reservoir for their abundant charity.[98]

Chapter VII

KNOW NOTHINGS

Bigoted hostility to Catholicism caused Cardinal Newman to write, July 14, 1850, that "he really does not think that there is any call just now for an Apology in behalf of the divine origin of the Catholic Church. She bears her unearthly character on her brow, as her enemies confess by imputing her miracles to Beelzebub. There is an instinctive feeling of curiosity, interest, anxiety, and awe, mingled together in various proportions, according to the tempers and opinion of individuals, when she makes her appearance in any neighborhood, rich or poor, in the person of her missioners or her religious communities. Do what they will, denounce her as they may, her enemies cannot quench this emotion in the breast of others, or in their own. It is their involuntary homage to the Notes of the Church; it is their spontaneous recognition of her royal descent and her imperial claim; it is a specific feeling, which no other religion tends to excite. Judaeism, Mohametanism, Anglicanism, Methodism, old religions and young, romantic and commonplace, have not this spell. The presence of the Church creates a discomposure and restlessness, or a thrill of exultation wherever she comes. Meetings are held, denunciations launched, calumnies spread abroad, and hearts beat secretly the while."[1] This last phrase was especially true of those in the Anglican Church, who had identified themselves with the Oxford Movement of 1833, the first principle of which was "that the Church should have absolute power over her faith, worship, and teaching." That meant the undoing of the power of the State, by which the Anglican Church, in its very constitution, had been held in bondage since the days of Henry VIII and Edward VI. This left no other legitimate issue than communion with the See of Rome,[2] and powerful minds such as Newman and "a hundred educated men"[3] of England were gradually forced by conviction and the logic of events into the bosom of the Catholic Church, while within the Anglican Establishment "opin-

ions, which twenty years ago were not held by any but Catholics, or at most only in fragmentary portions by isolated persons, are now the profession of thousands."[4]

Kindred religious circles were likewise affected in the United States, and some, following the teachings of the Tractarians in England, entered the Catholic Church, sometimes even at the sacrifice of wordly prospects, while High Churchmen leavened the American Anglican Church with doctrines and practices that were only a mimicry of the Catholic Church in spite of themselves. Episcopal Seminary students such as Edward Putnam, James A. McMaster, Clarence A. Walworth, the son of Chancellor Reuben Hyde Walworth of the State of New York, Augustine F. Hewit, Dwight Lyman, Francis A. Baker, Episcopal ministers such as J. R. Bayley, Edgar P. Wadhams, William Everett, Thomas S. Preston, Donald McLeod, and, finally, even an Episcopal Bishop, the Rt. Rev. Levi Silliman Ives, in North Carolina, became converts to the Catholic Church besides many others. Under these circumstances, it was not suprising that the Rev. Henry W. Lee, Rector of St. Luke's Church, Rochester, should deliver two discourses there on "The Papal Aggression", the second Sunday after Easter, May 4, 1851. They were published at the request of the Vestry, which was evidently Low Church as well as the Rector, and in sympathy with his attack on the Romanizing Tractarians that left no room for High Churchmen.[5] These naturally felt sorely aggrieved, and an anonymous pamphlet appeared with "Remarks" upon the two discourses. They attempted to define the difference between High Church and Romanism.[6] Bishop Timon probably uncovered the fallacies of both publications, when he made "Papal Aggression" the subject of his sermon in St. Patrick's Church at the evening service, December 3, 1851.[7] The matter had already been handled somewhat in the pulpit of St. Joseph's Church by one of the distinguished converts, the Rev. Clarence A. Walworth, then a Redemptorist. The evening of November 13, 1851, he gave the reasons for his becoming a Catholic.[8] This sermon called forth no rejoinder from Episcopalian circles, but it did provoke the announcement a week later "that on Sabbath evening next, in the First Presbyterian Church of this city, at 7 o'clock, an *Irishman* will give his reasons for becoming a *Protestant*. He respectfully and cordially invites

his fellow countrymen, especially Roman Catholics, to be present."[9] Needless to say, the invitation was not heeded. In fact, some years later Presbyterianism itself is reported in great danger by a Lover of Old Ways, who attacked, with untiring zeal, the alleged Romanizing tendencies of St. Peter's Protestant Church. He writes May 15, 1855:

> Among our genteel people, there has sprung up a Catholic epidemic, first by running individually to Rome through the forms of Episcopacy—nearly three-fourths of the apostates from Episcopacy having once been non-conformists. But now we are bringing Catholicism to lodge with us, while stoutly insisting that in so doing no one of the thirty-nine articles nor any article of the Westminster Confession is violated.
>
> In certain orthodox Protestant families in Rochester, there are Oratories, in which there are to be found the usual shrines, images, and pictures; and candles are burned when daily adoration is performed. As the Heathen ornament themselves with emblems of idolatry, so genteel people among us wear the image of that instrument, with which the Romans tortured their slaves to death. In our places of worship, a dark religious light now enters through pictures of the "Holy Ghost in the similitude of a dove", the "Holy Trinity" and crosses innumerable,—disregarding the wholesome words of the decretal:—"It is not lawful to set up in the churches those images and pictures that are accustomed to be adored." One of those common things that are placed in the passage ways and by the road side to draw a prayer from passers by for the repose of some deceased friend has been set up in a meeting house, and our children are to be corrupted by associating with their early religious education the emblems of superstition. Men do not become pagans all at once. It is only little by little,—here a little and there a little. Nor do those rushings to Rome like the company to be found there. But bent on superstition, they find no other open door, and so they make amends for the sacrifice, by spending the remnant of time before entering Rome in cursing the Pope. Thus, while the common people are associating together in secret society to restore the good old ways of our ancestors, genteel people are busy in dressing up Puritanism in the threadbare garments of superstition."[10]

This great champion of the nakedness of primitive Presbyterian worship cannot help striking up a note of triumph, "when Presbyterian ministers and church papers have pronounced against such practices, and it is ascertained that permission will be given to a person, driven from his accustomed place of worship by Puseyism, to file charges with specifications against a church, and when prospects are that the Presbytery, with which St. Peter's has voluntarily con-

nected itself, will send a minister to occupy the vacant pulpit, with instruction to conduct worship according to the form laid down in our constitution."[11] There is no mistaking the appeal to authority, that is not Sacred Scripture, even if it is Protestant. X. Y. caricatures it forcibly; "The note of persecution is sounded, and ere long a minister may be clothed with power and sent to St. Peter's to bring back that erring church to the true Presbyterian order. The smoke of burning fagots begins to rise.—Then the Lord's Prayer will no longer stain the walls, or the cross dishonor the marble that reminds you of affection and faith of parents, and child, and people."[12] More significant than all this is the ardent Prebyterian's endorsement of the anti-Catholic movement that organized the disgraceful Know Nothing Party.

The Party had worthy forerunners in the City of Rochester. An advertisement bears ample testimony to the fact in 1848, especially in the light of later developments.

ROMANISM

A Lecture on the pretended infallibility of the Church of Rome, contrasted with the writings of the Fathers, and such passages of Scripture as the Popish Church claims for the rule and standard of her faith will be delivered on

Wednesday Evening Oct. 4th.

at 7½ o'clock, at Minerva Hall, by Rev. E. Leahey, a native of Ireland, and late a Monk of La Trappe, in France. The Lecturer will appear in his Monastic Dress and give a brief narrative of his life and interview with the late Pope of Rome.

Also on Thursday Evening, at the same hour, the Rev. Dr. Giustiniani, formerly a Roman Catholic Priest, will deliver the Second Lecture—subject: "The United States, being a Province of the Pope, also on Nunneries."

Ladies and Gentlemen admitted at 12½ cts, each. The Monk will also Lecture on Friday Eve., Oct. 6th at the same place, to Gentlemen only.

At the close of each Lecture, the Rev. Dr. Giustiniani's work, "Intrigues of Jesuitism in the United States", will be offered for sale.[13]

CONFESSION

The Rev. Messrs. Leahey and Dr. Giustiniani
At Minerva Hall, on Friday Eve., October 6th, 1848
Popish Confession and Priestcraft Exposed.

A Lecture on the unchristian treatment of Females, in the Confessional, by Popish Priests—and De Peccatis Carnalibus Conjugum inter se—will be delivered on this Friday Evening, October 6th, at 7½ o'clock in Minerva Hall, Rochester, by Rev. E. Leahey, a native

of Ireland, formerly a Monk of La Trappe, in France, and late Pastor of the Albany Missionary Protestant Church—which Church was destroyed by fire—The Lecture will be illustrated by a sad catalogue of incontrovertible quotations from the Latin Theology of the Infallible Church of Rome, with the approbation of Bishop Hughes of New York, which catalogue, Mr. Leahey has, by public request, translated and published, with the original Latin on one side of the page, and English on the other, and will be offered for sale on the evening of his lecture. Price 25 cents each copy.

Ladies and Youths are positively Prohibited from coming to this Lecture, as some awful disclosures will be made. Admittance 25 cents.[14]

These two men were birds of a feather. Giustiniani had been advertised by the *Presbyterian* years before this lecture as "a Roman ecclesiastic and belonging to a family which had the distinction of furnishing a Pope," who "has become a Protestant" and, "with a view to the ministry . . has made application to the company of Pastors at Geneva, to be permitted to undergo the necessary examination." The news moved a correspondent to inform the *Catholic Telegraph,* in 1832, that during his residence in Rome some years before a Hungarian Jew posed as a convert to Christianity and was publicly baptized. One of the Giustiniani family was the godfather, and it was in his honor that the converted Jew took the name of the distinguished Roman family. He entered the Propaganda College, but there he was detected in misconduct that required his expulsion. As a convert to Protestantism, he later came to America to gain an easy living by pretended revelations upon the public lecture platform. Leahey turned out to be no better.

There is no trace of any disturbance as the result of these lectures, though they must have sorely tried Catholic forbearance. The same was not the case three years later, when Leahey appeared in Rochester alone, and advertised two lectures. The first lecture on this occasion was the same as the second of his previous visitation, but now he "cordially invited any Roman Catholic Priest to be present at my lecture, and then it will be shown whether the reading of the standard Catholic Books published under the sanction of the Right Rev. Bishop among us is bearing false witness against them." He also announced in his advertisement that "the proceeds of the lecture will go to the propagation of the Gospel among

Catholics." Again only men were admitted to this lecture, for which an admission price of 25 cents was also charged. The second lecture also treated "Auricular Confession according to Bishop Kenrick's and Hughes's Theology", with another topic added, namely "Popish Nunneries." Mr. Leahey promised to "show, at the close of his lecture, that he made solemn vows as a Monk of La Trappe—was subsequently released from his solemn Vow of Celibacy by the late Pope—was afterwards married to a young lady by Rev. Felix Barbelin, a Jesuit Priest at St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia—the said priest Barbelin conspired with Bishop Kenrick and Priest Mullen of New Orleans in the final separation of Mr. Leahey and his wife, which separation was obtained by SACERDOTAL PERJURY! In corroboration of the above statement, Mr. Leahey at the close of his Lecture will exhibit original Latin Documents from the Pope and Bishop Kenrick, signed by J. Swift, Esq., Mayor of Philadelphia."[15]

Not satified with all this in the advertisements of his lectures, Leahey had inserted a paid article into the *Rochester Daily Advertiser* with a citation from Bishop Kenrick's Moral Theology in regard to an abuse of marriage relations between man and wife.[16] The citation had no more justification in such a place than any crude passage from some medical book on a loathsome venereal disease. The world readily understands that professional necessity requires such works on diseases of the body, but it is slow now, and it was slower then honestly to recognize that professional necessity requires such works on diseases of the soul, that are the radical cause of such diseases of the body. When Protestants abolished the confessional despite the teaching of Scripture on the forgiveness of sin in the New Testament, they lost the most powerful means to solve the sex problem where it is undermining the fabric of human society. Leahey, however, was unscrupulous, and cunningly succeeded in checkmating any attempt to undermine his authority before the public by an attack on his character. He published, in the same issue of the *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, a letter, given him by a Rev. Dr. Berg of Philadelphia for Rev. Dr. Engles, Editor of the New York and Philadelphia *Presbyterian*, where Leahey had been denounced as an impostor.

Philadelphia, March 1, 1849.

Rev. and Dear Sir:—The bearer of these lines is Rev. Mr. Leahey. He calls upon you at the suggestion of many of your most respectable friends in the Presbyterian Church, believing that he has reason to complain of injustice, which you have done him. In the matter of controversy between yourself and him, I have no wish to interfere, though I find my name introduced in a manner, which I deem not altogether fair, in a note from Rev. Mr. Ramsay. The question is not whether you approved Mr. Leahey's lectures or not, but whether or not you have the right to brand him before the public as an *Impostor*—whether it is prudent to aim a blow at a man, who, however, imprudent he may be, can attest his sincerity by the scars of wounds, received in the discharge of what he believes to be his duty, from hands of enemies of your Savior's, and he would fain believe his Savior's cross. This is the point, my dear sir. You have done Mr. Leahey great injustice. Papists have not only beaten and wounded his body, but they have repeatedly copied your article, and but for the good providence of God, it would, in more than one instance, have blasted his reputation. He is not an *Impostor*. He is an imprudent man in your judgment and in mine also, but I will feel more at liberty to denounce his indiscretion when I have attained to the measure of *his courage*. Do not let us smite with the fists of wickedness in our zeal for things prudent, lest we help the enemies of God and despise one whom God has honored, and whose labors and reproach he has blessed by the testimony of many to the conversion of souls.[17]

The publication of the letter worked like a charm. The *Democrat*, the "most bigoted organ of Whiggery", refused to insert in its columns an article from a *Protestant Paper* in relation to the character of that individual," when an Irishman communicated it and requested its publication.[18] Furthermore, Leahey was admitted into "the pulpit of one of our most respectable churches" in Rochester.[19] Here blind bigotry closed the eyes of the bulk of his hearers to the evidence furnished by "his coarse manners and language, his evident desire to make himself out a persecuted man, a martyr to a certain degree, a bravado which he manifested, his selfconvicting irreconciliable statements" that proved him an impostor.[20] Still better evidence of the true character of the man was furnished to an enlightened and broad minded Protestant gentleman, Mr. T. Hart Hyatt, the editor of the *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, at Leahey's first lecture in Corinthian Hall.

Having heard much said for and against the lecturer, and the influence of his lectures, we concluded to step in and hear for

ourselves what he had to say, that we might the better judge whether he had been misrepresented, or whether he was justly entitled to the censure he had received. We did so. After a pious invocation of Divine blessing in a brief prayer, the speaker commenced by alluding to the manner, in which he had been treated by the Press in various places, boasted in a style of braggadocio and slang, much better becoming a stump political haranguer than a member of the clerical profession, of having compelled a prominent whig editor in Albany to retract a libel uttered against him; and finally he came to the press of Rochester—and stated that one of two of the presses here—the Advertiser among the number,—having copied from the N. Y. Presbyterian an article reflecting on his character, he had *compelled its editor* to publish a rejoinder, which appeared in the Advertiser last evening.

Now all this was a matter of surprise, and entirely news to us. Neither of the articles alluded to were seen or read by the responsible editor of this paper until they appeared in our columns. As they were both intended to appear in a sort of quasi-advertisement form, those in our business office, through whose hands they passed, as do all advertisements, did not deem it necessary to call our attention to them. Had this been done, we certainly should not have published the one we did yesterday in the form in which it appeared either for money or the threats of the "Monk of La Trappe." And we think it was in extreme bad taste, to say the least, for a man professing to preach the holy gospel, to make such a ridiculous display as he did of his braggadocio and cant about his efforts to cower the press.

When we entered the lecture room, we were liberally disposed towards the lecturer—we certainly had no prejudice against him. And we could even have overlooked his silly display of himself about the press, and attributed it to want of taste or good sense, but for the ill-judged and indecent manner in which he treated the subjects that he subsequently pretended to discuss. Instead of pointing out what he deemed the errors or absurdities of the system which he was combatting, in a candid and christianlike manner, and with the bold indignation of a Paul or Luther, he seemed to gloat over the indecencies which he exhibited, and by lascivious inuendo and leering insinuation to distort the meaning of his text, so as to excite, if not pander to a prurient and vitiated taste. And this too before an audience largely composed of young men and lads.

But the speaker undertook to excuse himself under the plea that, of there was anything obscene or indelicate, it was the fault of the books, and not of the speaker. But this, in our view, is a poor apology for the manner and occasions which he selects for such displays. If all the bad things, which he described, were actually practiced by the Catholic priests, and he were sincerely desirous that they should see their errors, and that others, who are fit subjects to be enlightened and reformed on such points, should have the benefit of his knowledge and experience, he might, in our opin-

ion, select a mode of laboring with such without irritating their prejudices, insulting their feelings, and offending public decency, or pursuing a course tending to corrupt public morals.

The passages, which he read from books said to be issued under the approbation and direction of Bishop Hughes and other Catholic Bishops and divines as standard works of the Catholic faith and practice, bad as the speaker made them appear, would seem, when considered with candor and a just criticism, to be less defective and objectionable in sentiment and fundamental principle than in the blunt and indelicate language in which they were expressed. These books, as their style plainly indicated, were written in the olden time, when the fathers of the church and other authors were in the habit of calling things by their right names, and were less scrupulous in their choice of words and expressions than popular writers are compelled to be in this polite age. And although many of these passages and expressions may have become obsolete and gone out of use, as we think they should, yet they are doubtless retained out of reverence for the memory of their ancient authors and venerable associations than for any particular admiration for their intrinsic merits.

And while we are by no means prepared. to endorse either the sentiment or the language of such a system of theology, nevertheless, we do not think the best way to improve or reform it is to be found in making it the butt of ribald jests and unclean allusions before a public audience, composed largely of young unmarried men and youths.

And besides a whole system, whether in religion or morals, should not be judged and condemned from a few detached sentences and on such *ex parte* hearing. If the Bible were to be judged of by a few isolated passages, which the infidel or sceptic might select and distort to subserve his purposes, how easily might his jeers and ridicule cast a shade of unbelief and contempt over the whole in the minds of those who had not examined its fundamental principles, and were not familiar with its sublime truths. So also with the works of Shakespeare—works which, next to the Bible, are perhaps more universally read and admired than the production of any other author—yet how easy would it not be to select detached passages and isolated sentences and give them an interpretation and colouring that would stamp the whole, in the view of the mere novice, as works of immoral tendency and obscene teaching.

Here we see the illiberality and danger of such an exhibition as that which marked the matter and manner of the lecturer at the Corinthian Hall last evening.[21]

If Mr. Hyatt had known his Martin Luther in the light of Martin Luther's own writings instead of the traditional lore current amongst Protestants, he would have discovered that Leahey could not go to a better school to learn the arts of

slander and vilification. Besides, the books of moral theology attacked by Leahey were not popular treatises, but professional works, in which it would have been absurd not to adopt "the habit of calling things by their right names", and so all the strictures made from this point of view against such books find no application in the case. However, in spite of these shortcomings, it is a most telling criticism of such methods of attack as were adopted by Leahy and his ilk, even if such men had been really honest in their work.

Leahey probably intended that the correspondence, which he published in the daily paper, should suggest and provoke and attack upon his person by those whom he so vilely outraged. If so, it was unfortunate that he succeeded at least in getting up a riot outside of Corinthian Hall, though he seems to have taken care to keep out of sight, and so escape bodily harm himself. The rioters pelted the Hall with coal, which happened to be lying in the rear of the Arcade. Some twenty window lights and a number of blinds were broken, and a constable was considerably bruised in the fight that ensued. A person, who had the misfortune to resemble Leahey closely in size and appearance, had his eyes blackened, his clothes torn, and two handerchiefs and a book taken from him. He finally succeeded in convincing his assailants that he was not "Father Leahey", and so escaped with his life and bones unbroken. The ringleader, William Cummerford, a baker by trade, and "formerly and recently from Canada", was arrested, but he and also two others arrested before him, Erastus Sherman and Joseph Auchambeau, were released under bail that was furnished at once.[22] Better counsels prevailed the night of the second lecture. Besides, the Common Council had together a sufficient force of police to intimidate any desire to resort to violence, though a large gathering followed Leahy in returning from Corinthian Hall after his lecture.[23] A step in the right direction was taken by a Catholic in his endeavor to instruct the public in the faith and practices of the Catholic Church that had been vilified.

> RELIGIOUS LECTURE.—By the desire of many of his Catholic and Protestant friends, Dr. D. R. Jourdan will deliver a Public Lecture at CORINTHIAN HALL on THURSDAY EVENING, the 20th inst., at 7 o'clock, in which he proposes to rebut all the malicious imputations of Rev. Ex-Monk E. Leahey in his Lecture against

Confession, Confessional, Priesthood, and to vindicate the Moral Theological Books used in Ecclesiastical Seminaries of the Roman Catholic Church.

Dr. D. R. J. will also lecture on Matrimony and Celibacy of R. Catholic Clergy, on the Nunneries and other Monastic Institutions. Admission 25 cts.

Dr. D. R. J. in this Lecture will give an opportunity to all those who attended the Lectures of the Ex-Monk E. Leahey to come and hear these matters discussed in the spirit of Catholic principles, and expects to meet the liberal and unprejudiced public.[24]

If Dr. Jourdan failed by his efforts to remove all traces of the calumnies and slanders from the minds of the audience, the subsequent career of their author was well calculated to do this work wherever it could be done. At the very time that he was poisoning the minds of his hearers, trouble was brewing for Leahey in his own household at Marcellon, Columbia Co., Wisconsin. His wife was giving her affections to another, and finally wrote him that she "wanted to go to California, because Mr. Manley was going." On the receipt of this letter, Leahey wrote her from Norfolk, Va., March 20, 1852:

Remember that you are a married woman, & have two little children and a respectable husband, who loves you as his life, and will you do anything to bitter and poison and blast forever the happiness of one who has done so much for you? I told you in a letter I wrote you from Rochester, New York, to keep yourself free from all men, and let no man have it in his power to say one word against your character, which is as dear to me as the souls that God has given me. I have good confidence in God, my saviour, that you have kept yourself, as I have done since I left you, free from the wicked ways of this deceitful world. And if so, as I know you have, then you have no reason to complain if neighbours or relatives speak all manner of evil falsely against you, for they have done so against Christ and his saints."[25]

The admonition produced no abiding conversion, and Leahey, finally, brought Manley into Court, where the latter was thrice acquitted of the crime charged. At the third acquittal, Leahey drew a revolver and shot Manley dead; he also fired twice at Colonel Morton, Manley's lawyer. The first shot struck the law book under the Colonel's arm, the second passed along the Colonel's abdomen, tearing his skin and ripping his clothes. Before Leahey could shoot again, the pistol was torn from his grasp. The murderer was arrested and placed in confinement, where he made the statement: "In a

vision last night, God told me to kill five men in that court room. I have been prevented now, but the day will come when it will be done."[26] The trial for murder ended in April, 1853, with a verdict of guilty, and he was sentenced to imprisonment for life.[27]

Shortly after the commission of the crime, the *Rochester Daily Union* learned "on good authority, that the only connection he ever had with the Trappists was in the capacity of a servant, from which he was dismissed for bad conduct. He married a wife in Philadelphia, who left him to avoid licentiousness which he urged as a means of support. In New Orleans, serving as a waterman, he extorted money from persons he entrapped into intercourse with a sham wife. Supported in a Protestant College by some of his dupes, he was dismissed for immoralities. And these are but the outlines of his career of imposture and villainy. The countenance he has had is even stranger than the history and for a time successful impositions of Maria Monk."[28] Bad as he had been, God's grace brought him to do penance for his sins in prison. For eighteen months he pleaded to be readmitted to the communion of the Church he had so deeply disgraced. In sending his written recantation to the Bishop of Milwaukee, he declared his willingness to have it made public. When he was finally admitted to penance, January 20, 1856, by Rev. Mr. Dael, he again made an oral recantation before the assembled prisoners, begging pardon of God and man for his long continued falsehoods and calumnies.[29] Leahey remained in prison till he was pardoned and released from confinement.[30]

Leahey's downfall no doubt also took away any lingering sting left by the outrageous attack that Henry Ward Beecher made upon Catholicism, likewise in Corinthian Hall, where he lectured before the Athenaeum, a literary association composed of a membership both Catholic and Protestant. The protest of a Catholic citizen appeared in the *Rochester Daily Advertiser*, December 4, 1851:

> The Rochester Athenaeum has so far shown itself worthy the support and confidence of the intelligent and liberal community, in which it has been instituted, and bids fair not only to be the means of furnishing choice mental enjoyment to our citizens, but of being a grand means of moral culture and intellectual advancement among our young men. Such being its avowed object, our citizens, without

distinction, have lavished on it their patronage with a liberality worthy of their reputation. Crowded houses during the whole of the last courses of lectures evinced the abiding interest felt by all in its firm establishment and perpetuity. Never, until last Tuesday evening, has its Lecture Hall been disgraced by intolerant ribaldry or wholesale or indiscriminate denunciation. I refer to the lecture or harangue, to speak more properly, of Henry Ward Beecher. An audience composed of the best and most intelligent portion of our citizens, and numbering from fifteen hundred to two thousand people, of every variety of creed, faith, and opinion, were constrained to sit and listen for an hour and a half to a most violent and infuriated denunciation of the Catholic Religion, the constituted Authorities of our Country, and, in fact, everything that did not square and measure to the iron bed of this modern Procrustes. He denounced our Legislature and Law Makers as corrupt and venal, cloaking all under the garb of patriotism and good citizenship! In his Scriptural allusions he was irreverent, in his sarcasm coarse, in his illustrations farfetched, and in his argument intolerant. The finest of his figures was a plagiarism from Macaulay, and the whole tenor of his discourse harsh, exciting, and vindictive, more suited to the brawling cabals of bar-room demagogues than the vocation of a meek and lowly follower of Him who proclaimed "peace on earth and good will toward men." It must have been such an oration that caused his auditory on Thanksgiving Day to greet him in the pulpit with three rounds of applause—and that too within the walls of the sacred edifice in which he ministers!

Now men professing different views, and holding different opinions from Mr. Beecher are not silently, and without reply, to be thus insulted and dragooned, even when the doughty assailant is ensconced behind the Aegis of the Lecture Committee. What were the Catholic Religion, the venality of our Law Givers, and the hideous features of the Fugitive Slave Law to Henry Ward Beecher as a lecturer before the Young Men's Association? His audience were there to hear a discourse on some moral, literary, or scientific subject, and not an enforcement of his fanatical dogmas, peculiar doctrines, or conceited flippancies. We trust nothing of the kind will happen again. The Committee should either know their men or exact from them a pledge to lecture, not abuse. If otherwise, there is but one alternative; let those hear them who desire to, and those, who do not, stay away. But it would be only fair, in the future, for the Committee to announce beforehand what we may expect, so that at least there may be no cause to complain, if we attend.

While it is true that the Committee was in a difficult position to control tactless men such as Henry Ward Beecher, it must not be forgotten that the Committee occasionally also engaged Catholic Lecturers such as Dr. O. A. Brownson and Bishop Timon.[31] Nevertheless, a partisan management was

even manifest in the Athenaeum Reading Room, in the selection of papers, "which would lead one to suppose that, instead of being a public institution for the benefit and use of the public without regard to religious and political creed, it was intended for the diffusion of sentiments, most decidedly sectarian in religion and partisan in politics. Of the seven New York papers which grace its desks, *five* are of the most radical stripe, leaving but *two* to represent the conservative element of the Metropolis. Again upon the desk set apart for sheets of a religious nature, we find the *Independent,* Genesee *Evangelist,* Presbyterian, the *Observer,* and Wm. Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator,* all virulent "negrophobist", and the organs of two or more religious sects; but nowhere in the room can we find the Boston *Pilot,* Freeman's *Journal,* or Baltimore *Mirror*—journals quite as ably conducted as any I have mentioned and equally worthy of a place in the Athenaeum Reading Room. Now I submit that these facts are sufficient in warranting the assertion that, as almost in everything else in these times, partisanship and bigotry have crept into the management of this institution."[32] This criticism was made in 1863, but it doubtless also applied in the years of the bigoted agitation that led to the formation of a professedly anti-Catholic political party.

It was not until 1854 that a Know Nothing society was organized in Rochester. The *Daily Union* first speaks of it June 7th as "a small society here, with Dr. Strong at the head and the local editor of the *Democrat* at the tail", but two weeks later the same paper was informed, on "perfectly reliable authority, that a large society of Know Nothings has been formed, under the personal leadership of S. W. Moore, W. F. Holmes, and G. B. Redfield."[33] Neither a Constitution nor a Ritual of the local society is available. Scisco in his *Political Nativism in New York State* considers the only oaths "'which seem clearly authentic" those revised by the National Council of Know Nothings, November 15, 1854, at Cincinnati, although he admits that "a set of oaths said to have been used in Virginia in 1854 may possibly be those actually used by the Order before the Cincinnati ritual."[34] The Virginia oaths were precisely those printed by the Rochester *Daily Union,* August 11, 1854, as a revelation of the character of the Know Nothing Society, which was, in fact, established in the City

before the Cincinnati Revision took place. At all events, they do not misrepresent the Society in its hostility to Catholics, since the first degree oath in the Cincinnati ritual expressly bound Know Nothing members not to "vote or give your influence for any man for any office in the gift of the People, unless he be an American-born citizen, in favor of Americans ruling America, nor if he be a Roman Catholic". The second degree oath made them swear in addition "that, if it may be done legally, you will, when elected or appointed to any official station conferring on you the power to do so, remove all foreigners, aliens, or Roman Catholics from office or place, and that you will in no case appoint such to any office or place in your gift."[35] The Virginia Ritual has a Judge Advocate admonish the newly received first degree members on the secrecy of the Order in terms that should not be forgotten, if they are true.

> If you were placed before a legal tribunal, and there sworn to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, you could not, for your lives, reveal the name of that band of brethren among whom your name now stands enrolled; and further than this, when you retire from this meeting, you will return to your families and friends as ignorant as when you came, as far as the name of this order is concerned. In common with ourselves, you "Know Nothing", and let it be your stern resolve thro' life to "Know Nothing" that will at all conflict with the high and exalted duties you owe to your God, your country, and yourselves, so far as regards the preservation of American liberty, which can alone be secured to ourselves and our children by the entire and absolute exclusion of all foreign influence in those matters which appertain to our Government policy.

The men thus addressed had already declared in a preliminary examination their "willingness to use all influence you possess in favor of native born American citizens for all offices of honor, trust, or profit in the gift of the people"; and to "promise to vote for them to the exclusion of all aliens, foreigners, and Roman Catholics in particular, for all local, State, or Government offices." The oath of the second degree in this ritual makes it plain that the Know Nothing Order bound its members under oath either to vote for candidates chosen by itself, "provided such candidates shall have been born of American parents on American soil, and shall have been educated in American institutions," or, when there were no Know Nothing candidates in the field, to "use all the influ-

ence I may possess to elect all candidates whom I know to be opposed to all foreign influence, Popery, Jesuitism, and Catholicism, without any hesitation on my part whatever." The third degree men, who were subject to still another oath, were further informed by the Judge Advocate "that by a system of concerted action on the part of our brotherhood, we can bring about a series of practical results in our government policy that would in any other light be deemed wholly impracticable. Simply and alone, it is in vain to contend against the hydra-headed monster of Jesuitism and Catholicism, but united in one common cause, determined to secure the liberties of our native land at all hazards, or perish in the attempt, we cannot fail of success. Our cause is a righteous one, the motives which actuate us are of no ordinary character, and we trust no brother among us will be found absent from his post in the hour of danger." No highly sounding phraseology can disguise the fact that the main object of Know Nothingism was the oppression of the Catholic citizen under the impudent pretext of safeguarding "the dearest rights and privileges . . . of republican freedom."[36] When the Order became a national political party, its avowed anti-Catholic policy was in direct contravention of the principle of religious freedom proclaimed by the Constitution of the United States, Art. VI, that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States," and reinforced by the amendment that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." If anything at all, religious liberty is and was amongst "the dearest rights and privileges of republican freedom" in the United States of America. Know Nothing hypocrisy was only equalled by the malicious purposes in its campaign of street preaching against Catholics, which was ruthlessly exposed by Archbishop Hughes in his pastoral to his people, December 15, 1853:

> It has been communicated to us that certain persons, claiming to be ministers of religion, have thought it proper to preach in the public streets in such manner as to excite against us the hatred of our fellow citizens who are not Catholics. The object of this communication is to request you to avoid all such preachings, and to leave the parties who approve them to the entire and perfect enjoyment of their choice.
>
> The Catholic Community of New York have merited well of their

fellow citizens by their uniform moderation and respect for the laws of their country and the authority of its government. I fear that this system of street preaching is intended as a snare, and I hope no Catholics will allow themselves to be caught thereby. Let every man, who chooses to preach in the public streets, preach as often and as long as he will. But as for you, dear Brethren, shun the space in which his voice can be heard, lest, owing to human infirmity, a reasonable and just indignation might tempt any one of you to exhibit symptoms of impatience or resentment, which would be the signal to your enemies, in consequence of which the laws of peace and good order might be violated.

I do not wish you to understand, dearly beloved brethren, that you should degrade yourselves one iota below the highest level of American citizenship. If there be, as has been insinuated a conspiracy against the civil and religious rights which are secured to you by our constitution and laws, defeat the purpose of that conspiracy by your peaceful and entirely legal deportment in all the relations of life.—But on the other hand, if such a conspiracy should arise, *unrebuked by the public authorities*, to a point really menacing with destruction any portion of your property, whether your private dwellings, your churches, your hospitals, orphan asylums, or other Catholic institutions, then, in case of an attack, let every man be prepared, in God's name, to stand by the laws of the country and the authorities of the city in defence of such rights and property. It is hardly to be supposed that such a contingency, under our free and equal laws, can possibly arise.

Nevertheless, symptoms of so baneful a purpose are not by any means wanting. The consequence, in so populous and wealthy a city as New York, of a collision between parties, having for its basis or stimulant the spite of religious hatred, whether in the attack or the defence, would be inconceivably disastrous.—You, dearly beloved brethren, will be careful to avoid even the appearance of offence in regard to measures that might lead to such a result. But, if in spite of your forbearance, it should come, then it will be lawful to prove yourself worthy of the citizenship, with which you are invested, by a noble defence of your own property, as the same is declared sacred by the laws of the country.[37]

The position taken by Archbishop Hughes was unassailable. He stood for peace, but not at the price of sacrificing the rights of religious and political liberty, guaranteed to the Catholic citizen as well as to the non-Catholic citizen by the Constitution. The civil authorities in New York City knew that they could not, under the circumstances, let the conspiracy of the Protestant Know Nothing fanatics continue unrebuked, and so the Mayor, Jacob A. Westervelt, the very

day after Archbishop Hughes's pastoral, issued the following proclamation:

> It is the duty, as I trust it will be the pleasure, of every good citizen to endeavor by all lawful means to preserve public peace. No man, governed by a proper respect for the welfare of our city and the just rights of all who regard the supremacy of the laws, will directly or indirectly sanction or encourage any act tending to the violation of public order.
>
> Recent occurences seem to require a natural forbearance and the the exercise of careful moderation on the part of our fellow citizens, and especially an absence from the unnecessary discussion in public thoroughfares of topics calculated to excite and arouse the passions or prejudice of any portion of our citizens.
>
> The accompanying law points out the duties of public officers, and it is to be hoped that the good sense of those whose motives are pure will enable them to adopt that spirit of Christian kindness, without which the worst passions may be engendered, and the most disastrous consequences ensue to the prosperity of the city. I request, therefore, that all good citizens will abstain from any assemblages, especially on the Sabbath, in the public streets, thoroughfares or other public places, the tendency of which is to create or tend to a breach of the public peace, and that they will devote the day to those purposes for which it was originally set apart.[38]

While many Catholic churches, in various parts of the United States, were attacked and even destroyed in riots engineered by mobs of Know Nothings and Orangemen, not a single Catholic church was touched in New York City in the face of the plainly declared manly preparedness to resist any such lawlessness with all necessary force. It was too much to expect that such a politic step for the common good would find a following by the Mayor of Rochester, Dr. Maltby Strong, himself a member of the Secret Order of Know Nothings. He prostituted the proper functions of the Mayor's Office in order to protect, as long as he felt he could do so, the *Angel Gabriel* in his visitation of Rochester.

This turbulent street preacher was really Saunders McSwish, born of Scotch parents on the Isle of Skye, but he dropped that name for the English name of Orr, his stepfather, an itinerant Baptist preacher, who changed this occupation for that of circus ringmaster at New Castle. The stepson became quite an acrobat, and finally eloped with the daughter of the proprietor of a wine and spirit vault near Prince's Dock, Liverpool. He went to Wales to become a

Methodist preacher at Llangffd, where he tried to arouse his simple Welsh congregation by blowing a tremendous tin horn in the pulpit. He is said to have "disappeared one night, leaving a few debts behind him, as tokens of his affections among his parishioners, and taking with him, by way of remembrance, the pewter tankard which had been employed in the church sacraments." Orr next turned up in Jamaica, whither he had worked his way as cook on board of a vessel, and there he again took up the work of the ministry, but this time as a Baptist. When he came to the United States, he passed through a number of professions before he settled down to the work, for which there was a good market in the Know Nothing movement. A few years before this, he taught in a dancing school at McGrawsville, New York, after which he became a convert to Mormonism. Later he was by turns check taker at a circus and assistant in a menagerie, a temperance lecturer, a tin peddler, and editor of a nativist paper in Philadelphia. But all this finally left him in New York with just money enough in his pocket to buy a brass trumpet, and embark on the Angel Gabriel line of business. The sketch of his life came avowedly from a former school fellow and playmate, and made the rounds of the press, appearing also in Rochester before the Angel Gabriel arrived towards the end of July, 1854.[39]

Mayor Strong ordered out the Union Grays, and they were on hand Friday Evening, July 28, to put down, by force of arms, any opposition that might develop against the street preaching. That night as well as the following nights the Angel Gabriel railed in language unfit to be spoken, much less repeated in public, at Catholics, at Slavery, at the Fugitive Slave Law, &c., &c.[40] Sunday he rode through the streets, blowing his horn and selling his doggerel.[41] He charged the Celtic race with cowardice, but he did not hestitate to declare that, in case of attack, he would be backed by the police as well as by the *other* force that would be in readiness.[42] The Catholics, nevertheless, gave admirable proof of selfcommand, but resentment was felt, even in some non-Catholic circles, against the Mayor "for the gratuitous and insulting act of ordering out a military company", without the least provocation. The *Rochester Daily Union,* fiercely denounced by the Angel in his eulogy of its bigoted contemporary, *The Ameri-*

can, boldly attacked the issue supposed to be involved in the matter by some, who failed to grasp the real character of such street preaching.

> Our institutions are based upon the theory of the Equal Political and Civil Rights of all good citizens. Hence some leap to the conclusion that "Gabriel" must be protected in his public harangues; if he be not, the right of free discussion is prostrated. This *may* be so; but we doubt it.
>
> If under our institutions, A has the right of free speech; so has B the right to enjoy his religious or political opinions without being molested or publicly blackguarded and abused. The right of free speech does not include the right to assail with insult and opprobrious *language* every man I may chance to meet. This is the perversion of a right, which the civil magistrates should punish or prevent. If "Gabriel" observes the proprieties of discussion, he should be protected at all costs; but if he abuse the privileges accorded by our laws to all good men—whether citizens or not—he should be curbed, and, if necessary, he should be punished according to law. The character of the person involved should make no difference whatever in the assertion of the principle.
>
> This man enlisted some sympathy in his behalf by a pretended zeal for the Protestant religion. But a gentleman, who knows him personally, assures us that in private, when there is no *immediate* occasion for hypocrisy, *he makes no sort of pretense to piety; he manifests no zeal for religion or holiness of life.* His public harangues at once lose their quasi-religious character, and become the ebullitions of an unprincipled pretender, who seeks mere notoriety by means of the excitement, which coarse assaults upon religious creeds, ceremonies, and modes of worship are always calculated to produce. Indeed, we are frank to say that in our judgment any man who wantonly and publicly assails and holds up to ridicule the peculiarities of a respectable religious denomination should be put down by law. He thus just as clearly invades the rights of others as though he assailed them by brute force.[43]

Evidently the Mayor learned thus "to discriminate between the freedom of speech properly so-called and the base perversion of a right which our laws guaranteed to all." There was a report that he kindly provided a hack for the accommodation of the "Angel" the day following the appearance of this notice, but he ordered the street preacher stopped in the course of his harangue, when "a brick bat was thrown by somebody at somebody else, hitting, though not seriously injuring policeman Squires." An accomplice of Gabriel was suspected of the act.[44] The next day Mayor Strong prohibited him from resuming his preaching.[45] While the Angel was

waiting for the train at the depot, he gave vent to some impudent remarks that brought a crowd around him. When some one there *groaned,* the brave man became greatly frightened, and bawled out a number of times for some *true* American to protect him. Nobody even offered to molest him, and finally he departed, sounding his trumpet.[46] In the Spring of 1856, advices from British Guinea brought the news of the trial and conviction of the Angel Gabriel for sedition against the Crown, having excited anti-Creole and anti-Catholic riots the previous February. Sixteen of his dupes were also convicted of sedition, riot, robbery, and plunder. Orr himself was sentenced to hard labor in prison for three years,[47] but in less than a year he died at Demerara of dysentery, at the age of thirty-five.[48]

The spirit of intolerance manifested towards Catholics in Know Nothing times was not confined to political agitation, but also made its way into circles of the otherwise refined Protestant Ladies that controlled the management of the "Home for the Friendless." It was established in Rochester on East Avenue to give a temporary home to poor and friendless females that might be worthy and in need of such relief while out of work. The first few years it appeared as an institution of a public and general nature. Appeals for help were made to the public at large, although the contributions came almost exclusively from Protestants. Reports of its scope and of its doings were published in the papers, but not a single statement was made, indicating that sectarianism had anything to do with its management.[49] Catholics and Protestants shared in the benefits of the Home. Catholic girls were even helped to observe the rules of their Church in abstaining from flesh meat on Fridays by being served with fish when desired.[50] This broad spirit of liberality, however, gave way at the beginning of the Summer of 1854. Although a minority strenously dissented, the majority of the managers made it a rule of the Institution that "on no occasion and under no circumstances shall the performance of the rites and ceremonies of the Romish religion by one of its ministers be allowed in the Institution."[51] The rule was entered into the bylaws that "are suspended in every room in the Home appropriated to the inmates, and are read to the poor ignorant ones that cannot read them." The former Matron, R. O. Judson, declared in

language worthy of "Ex-monk" Leahey and of the Angel Gabriel: "They are told from the first that, though we welcome them, we do not welcome those that mislead and deceive them. Our Home has ever had *toleration* for all forms of the Christian religion. But God grant it may never tolerate 'that man of sin,' 'that mystery of iniquity', 'that abomination that maketh desolate.' "[52] Father Thomas McEvoy, who became painfully aware of the mentality, into which the management of the Home for the Friendless had hypnotized itself, described well the practical result of the new rule:

> They receive poor girls at the Home, and from that hour they have to abjure their religion, and deny that they have a Catholic conscience. During the past summer, while cholera was sweeping from among us its victims, when the rancorous spirit of religious despotism ought to subside, a poor Catholic girl at the Home for the Friendless, in the agony of death, her soul trembling on her lips, and the dark dew of approaching dissolution gathering thick on her brow, called for the priest. In that awful crisis, when even savage nature would be subdued into humane feelings, she was denied the last consolations of her religion and was forced thus to go before her Judge in Eternity, because she was in a Protestant Institution. Whether her conscience was right or not, is not the question at present. It should be respected, and her last dying request granted. She believed in the doctrine inculcated by St. James, ch. 5, 14-15 v: "Is any man sick among you? Let him bring in the priest of the church, and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord. And the prayer of faith shall save the sick man: and the Lord shall raise him up, and if he be in sins, they shall be forgiven him."[53]

The former Matron of the Home now claimed that "the poor Catholic girl, that died in the Home of the cholera, . . . did not call for the Priest. She did not wish one. She had not sought the pardon of her sins at his hands for more than a year previous to her sickness."[54] The categorical statement might be a little more credible, if a Protestant male champion, "Benedict XV", had not entered the lists in defence of the Home's policy of intolerance. His account shows, in spite of himself, how a poor Catholic girl had been led to apostacy from her faith under the proselytism of the Home for the Friendless, but did not dare to face death itself with this act burdening her soul. "One of the Directors was applied to for aid by a young woman of Catholic parentage, who desired to be taken into the Home. The applicant was asked if her own

church could not make some provision for her. She replied that she could get no help in that direction. She was then informed of the rule . . . . She replied that she did not want to see the Priest—he took no interest in her welfare, and she did not wish him to visit her. She was finally received, because she had nowhere else to look for aid. She was glad to read the Scriptures there, for keeping which from the common people, she censured the Priest, and *so long as she had her reason,* had no wish to see a Catholic Priest, having found a better Advocate, 'Jesus Christ, the righteous', the only Mediator."[55] Apparently the poor dying girl, in the last hour of repentance for her sin of apostacy, had asked for a Priest, a sure sign in the judgment of the Protestant management that *she had lost her reason,* as the request did not square with its *infallible* understanding of a few passages of Scripture, although there were much plainer passages in the same Scripture to show how fallible it was. But even if there had been an outrage of conscience, which "Benedict XV" refused to admit, this champion of Protestant intolerance was quite ready to take up its defence.

> Have not Protestants a right to exclude from their own institutions all such rites and ceremonies as *they believe* to be *idolatrous,* even if they should be earnestly solicited by some one, "when the dark dew of approaching dissolution was gathering thick on her brow", to send for some one to burn incense to Mercury, or address an "Ave Maria" to Venus, or place an *obolus* on her lips to pay Charon for a passage over the river Styx, lest she might be left in "Limbo", in the regions of Purgatory? Or does the Priest contend that Papist and Pagan, (whose rites are in so many respects identical) shall alike be tolerated in the performance of that which is abominable to Protestants, and that this toleration shall find place in institutions reared by Protestants themselves, with the express purpose of shielding the unfortunate and afflicted not only from destitution of temporal good, but from the spiritual ruin inflicted by that Beast of "seven heads which are seven mountains."

Divested of its Know Nothing, anti-Catholic rhetoric, there is nothing left to this defence but a naked principle of intolerance towards Catholic belief and practice, the tyranny of which a victim could only escape by removal from the precincts of the Home for the Friendless, even in the hour of death. This condition of affairs was not known to the public at large until October 25, 1854. Father Thomas McEvoy had

been called to attend a sick Catholic girl at the Home the previous Sunday afternoon, but was not allowed to see her by the Matron, as it was a purely Protestant Institution. She gave him the printed report, in which he found the rule that explained the intolerant conduct of the management, publicly denounced by him a few days later.[56] His critics, the former Matron, R. C. Judson and "Benedict XV", met with able rejoinders by William Purcell and Sheeran, the former sticking strictly to the point at issue,[57] the latter attacking mainly the irrevelant abuse heaped upon Catholics to discredit their religion before the public.[58] As a result, the tone of supreme confidence is absent from a letter of enquiry W. Lebois addressed to Isaac Butts, Esq., in favor of the management:

> Your readers *may* have been entertained several times recently by a most singular controversy respecting the principles upon which the *Home* for females is conducted.
>
> Allow me to enquire, sir, if an association of individuals have not the privilege of establishing a benevolent institution to meet the necessity of any *part* or *portion* of this community? Have they not the right to fix a limit to their efforts? Have they not the right to receive and to exempt from its privileges just whom they please, without infringing upon the strict rules of courtesy or claims of benevolence?
>
> The most that ought reasonably be inferred by those outside of their pale should be to receive it as an admonition: 'go thou and do likewise.'
>
> What must we necessarily think of a person who will stand grumbling at the door after admission has been denied him?
>
> I know what conclusion others might come to, but I should certainly suspect that the intruder entertained mischievous designs.
>
> Is it dignified, polite, or christian to try to excite prejudice against a good action in others, or sympathy because it stopped short of our own door?
>
> We have only to give a little scope to our vision to observe a great many things, though many of them may not bear the impress of novelty.[59]

The Editor of the *Daily Union* was a Protestant, but not of the real Reformation type, even though he does not seem to have been aware of the fact. He really belonged to the non-Catholic Counter-Reformation, the so-called Enlightment, which rebelled against the Reformation standards of Faith, the Creeds imposed through the influence of the Reformers by the authority of the State. The Reformation State thus

lorded it over the consciences as well as over the bodies of men. The management of the Home was operating precisely on the same principle. Naturally the reply of Mr. Butts's paper to the enquiry was unfavorable, precisely because it was based on a false definition of Reformation Protestantism, better illustrated in its original character by the management of the Home for the Friendless.

> Protestantism, as understood by the writer, is virtually but another name for *Toleration;* and the right of the exercise and *practice* of private judgment in matters of religion, asking permission of no one.
>
> That is a strange Home indeed, where the sick and dying inmates cannot enjoy the consolation of religion after their faith. A tavern or boarding house hardly pretends to the style of *Home* for its sojourners, and yet when did we ever hear that a Catholic priest in one of these was ever denied access to the child of the Church when in *extremis?* What one of the Ladies, composing the Board of Managers, having a domestic in dying circumstances, being a Catholic, would deny her this boon? Probably not one; and yet in their corporate character, they shut the door upon the priest and deprive the parting soul of those rites, upon which is laid the utmost stress by those who demand them.
>
> ...Again is it liberal or even moral to hamper the terms of admission with such conditions as to greatly tempt many a poor wanderer to accept a *home* in violation of their religious convictions, and which, should sickness and death overtake them there, would be most harrowing? For a Catholic to accept such a condition would be as truly sin as for another girl to accept the refuge of a brothel, that or 'homeless' starvation being the alternative, their sin differing only in degree. The apology or the indication for this course mainly rests upon the assumption, that it is a Protestant Institution. But this is an afterthought to sustain the position taken. Without doubt its original conception was the establishment of a *Charitable or Benevolent* Institution to aid the friendless poor . . . . .
>
> The argument of Paul in reference to meats offered to idols might be read by the managers to advantage; and with respect to extreme unction, the matter especially in controversy, they ought to say as he did, "neither if we eat are we the better, neither if we eat not are we the worse", and allow the supposed erring girl still to comply with the requisitions of her religious convictions. for in such a case Protestantism, Toleration, and humanity might permit the error, be it one. And while a mistake upon the importance of such a rite cannot destroy a soul, the denial of its existence by Protestant ladies may be, and is such a breach upon the principle of Toleration as, in fact, to give sanction to that intolerance and spiritual

despotism, which has so long been the reproach of Christendom, although no part of Protestant Christianity.[60]

Even though the Managers of the Home did not admit this erroneous view anent the true character of the original, unadulterated Protestant Christianity, to which they belonged, if judged by their conduct, they could not escape the logic of the concluding paragraph of William Purcell's communication: "No person of course can question the right or propriety of any denomination, or number of denominations to establish and conduct such charities as they deem proper for the *exclusive* benefit of their own brethren. But, when the managers of an Institution, which bestows its charities alike upon all, adopt rules against the admission of the clergy of any particular denomination, they simply commit an act of intolerance, view it in what light you will."[61] Once they took Catholic girls into the Home, they could not exclude them from the priest's ministration in the hour of sickness and death without becoming guilty of the most odious tyranny over conscience.

Modern apologists might try to extenuate the guilt of the Managers of the Home for the Friendless by pointing out the illiberal treatment then accorded to Catholic inmates of public institutions, both penal and eleemosynary, although the State Constitution declared, Art. I, Sec. 3: "The free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall forever be allowed in this State to all mankind." While two wrongs do not make a right, there is no doubt that the constitutional guarantee of liberty in religious profession and worship failed to influence the condition of affairs in both State and County institutions at Rochester. Bishop McQuaid had not yet entered upon the scene of action here to champion the cause of these unfortunates, and wring from the State, not without the help of others, the Freedom of Worship Bill. Meanwhile, the pastor of St. Patrick's, the Reverend M. O'Brien, had tried, August 21, 1855, to obtain permission from the Board of Managers of the House of Refuge to teach the children of Catholic parents confined in the Institution for reformation. Available data placed the number of Catholics at about two hundred in a total of about three hundred and eighty inmates. These Catholics were not only deprived of Catholic instruction, but

also of all Catholic worship as long as they were in the institution. That meant a training in the neglect of their religious duties as Catholics, except their private prayers. The Managers were blind to the justice of Father O'Brien's request, and adopted the following resolutions, on the motion of Mr. Roggen:

> First, That the Managers have considered it their duty to provide such instruction for the boys committed to their care, as in their judgment will be best calculated to secure their permanent reformation.
>
> Second, That, in the discharge of this duty, they have provided for the boys efficient instruction in the practical duties of religion, the duties which they owe to their fellows, to their parents, to their country, and to God, without reference to the sectarian differences which prevail among Christians.
>
> Third, That they cannot admit the claim of any person not employed by the Managers to occupy the place of religious teacher to the boys. As to do this in one instance would be to furnish a good foundation for a similar claim in another, and thus, in the end, the duty of furnishing proper religious instruction to the boys would be transferred to other and irresponsible hands.[62]

The Managers refused to give up this position, so that Father O'Brien could do nothing more than write Bishop Timon, June 8, 1856: "I deem it my duty to inform you of my sad failure in my efforts to benefit the Catholic children in the House of Refuge. Judging from the data within my reach, that about half the children there are Catholics, and assured that no moral amelioration of their condition could be attained except through the faith received in Baptism and nourished by a mother's milk, I made several attempts to aid, offering my services *gratis!* I send you the stern refusal. I was also informed that a Baptist minister had been employed and paid to teach all, but that he had pledged himself not to teach sectarianism, in other words, to teach them to be infidels, but to be sure that they cease to be Roman Catholics."[63] The word infidel is a little too strong, but there is no doubt but that such wayward youths, in the absence of any positive Catholic instruction, would cease to be Catholics, and probably end as infidels. The following winter there was a vacancy of five on the Board of Managers which comprised fifteen members. "A number of the most respectable citizens petitioned the Governor that Catholics should not, as heretofore, be excluded

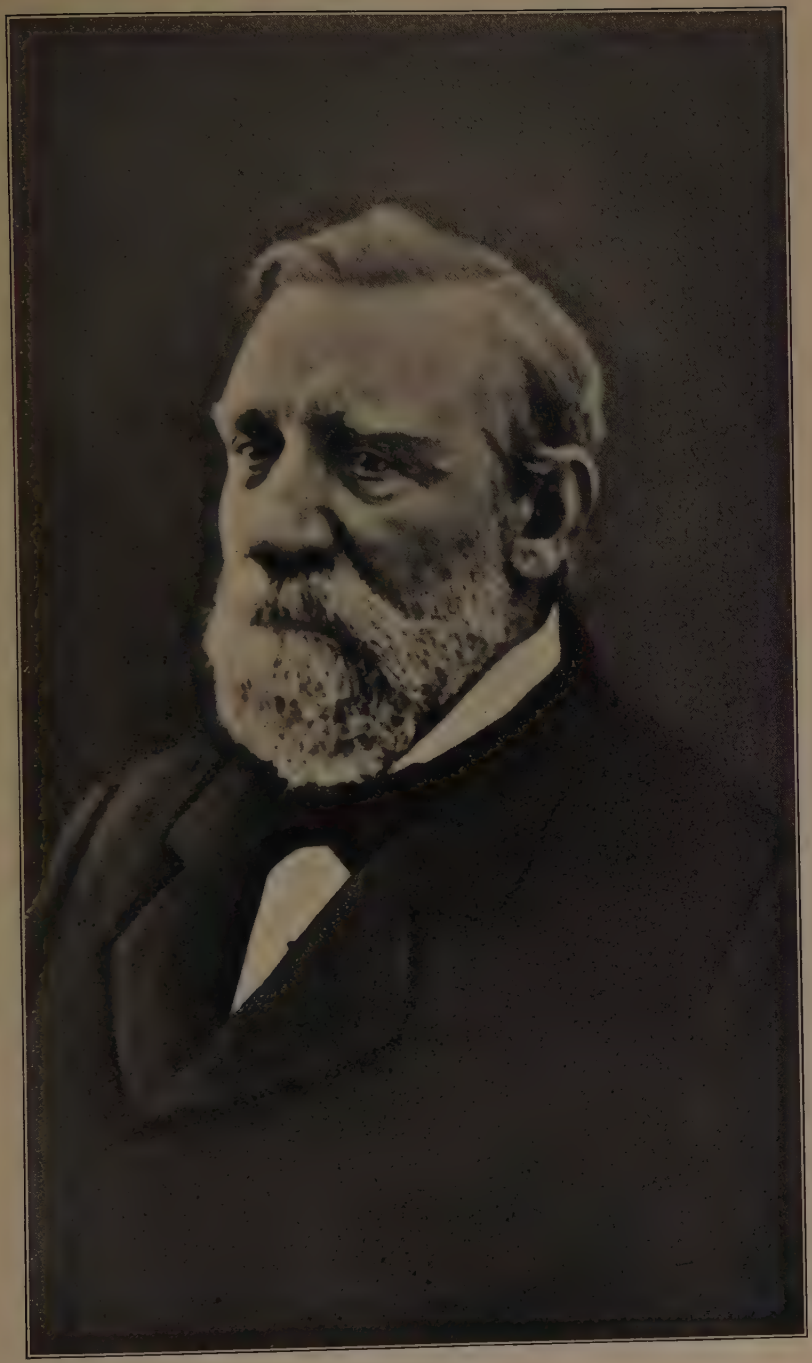
from the board—names of Catholics, as respectable as any now in the Direction, were sent to the Governor, with a prayer that out of five at least some two or three Catholics would be named. The Governor, at first, returned an answer, which seemed almost a promise, that he would grant some right or some voice to the Catholics, but afterwards, overruled perhaps by the *party*, he appointed *all Presbyterians!*"[64]

Bishop Timon had, in fact, been present at a meeting in Rochester for the House of Refuge, January 14, 1857. Failure at Albany called forth further effort. According to an entry in his Diary, he started an agitation against the House of Refuge May 11, 1857. This brought no immediate redress for the evil, which also existed in other public institutions. For, January 11, 1858, Bishop Timon met the priests in Rochester and gave directions not only about the House of Refuge, but also about the Poor House and the Work House. Besides, the last day of the same month he found it necessary to write a letter to Father Creedon in Auburn about proselytism in the State Prison. Catholic Prisoners in Rochester were apparently also exposed to the same danger. For, after a meeting of Pastors for the Penitentiary, December 3, 1858, he declared that there was "nothing but for Irish priests to combine." The abuse did not end, and there was another meeting of priests in Rochester "for preventing proselyting", March 31, 1859. Evidently no progress was being made. Father Moore's denunciation of public institutions, penal and eleemosynary, at Rochester, towards the end of January, 1861, prove that things had become worse instead of better.[65] Meanwhile Bishop Timon had determined upon other tactics for the House of Refuge. The Know Nothing Party was no longer in power. After Mr. Barry agreed "to serve", he kept in close touch with him, and finally, December 18, 1861, he went to Governor Morgan and explained the State of the Western House of Refuge. The Governor promised to name Barry as one of the directors of the Institution. Bishop Timon continued to press the matter. For, he was again in Albany, January 7, 1862, to "speak to Governor about Western House of Refuge." Mr. Barry was indeed appointed, but the presence of one Catholic on the Board of Directors was by no means an adequate representation of Catholic interests, and so Bishop Timon, February 10, 1863, at Utica gave to Mr. Kernan a

"petition to appoint one more director, A. Brennan, for the House of Refuge in Rochester." This was all the more imperative as conditions were not what they should have been at the Institution. During a visit in Rochester, February 20, 1863, Bishop Timon sent for Barry, with whom he had a long consultation on the Western House of Refuge. He wrote about it to Kernan "that he or the Governor may write to General Gould and to Ward." Persevering effort told. For, August 1, 1863, Bishop Timon received "letters from Gov. that A. Brennan is appointed director of House of Refuge." Despite all that he had done, Bishop Timon found himself called upon by the Reverend Charles Stiesberger, C. SS. R., in Elmira to do his duty by this public institution, September 5, 1864:

> Father Charles comes to tell me that there were *50* Cath. boys in the House of Refuge, and that I ought to do something for them. I told him that there were nearly *200*, and I related what I had done, at which he was astonished—he *knew* very little, only just enough to be able to blame, because he took no pains to know what had been done: and when all efforts by deputation from the Catholics of Rochester had failed—I obtained, by several journies to Albany and many letters, first one, then two Catholic Directors—Barry & Brennan.

Bishop Timon continued his efforts. He went to Albany, January 19, 1865, to "see Governor—give two names for Western House of Refuge, Rochester, as directors." The Governor, however, told the Bishop that "he fears he can name only one and asks one which I prefer." No doubt, Bishop Timon was encouraged to continue to work for a larger Catholic representation on the Board of Directors, when he learned of an important change in the past policies of the institution since the appointment of Catholics to it. His Diary gives the interesting circumstances in which he became aware of the change. November 4, 1865, he received the *Western Catholic* "with my remark that the Priest was refused to assist Catholic boys when Dying in the Western House of Refuge. Two hours after I got the paper—recd a letter from Mr. Early dated the 3 Nov., he tells me that the priest is permitted—Dr. Barker had assured me that he was not—he also told me that he had recd my telegraph on the 1st Nov. I hoped to have an answer, which would make assurance doubly sure, at least on the 3rd, in time to correct." This change marked only a begin-



PATRICK BARRY

Pioneer in Rochester Nursery business and City Traction—Editor of "Genesee Farmer", 1844-1852; of the "Horticulturist," 1852-1854—Author of a "Treatise on the Fruit Garden," of the "Catalogue of the American Pomological Society," etc. First Catholic Director of Western House of Refuge.

ning in what was to be done, but it gave greater hope of future success if more Catholics were on the Board of Directors. For this purpose, he called upon Bishop Conroy in Albany, January 29, 1866—"get him to come with me to Governor for appointment to House of Refuge in Rochester." This did not prevent him from acting alone when circumstances made it necessary or advisable, and so November 22, 1866, he wrote to Governor Fenton of the Western House of Refuge. However, despite all effort, Catholic Worship and Instruction were still denied to the Catholic inmates of the institution.

The fact proves that Know Nothing agitation unfortunately survived longer in prejudiced and bigoted minds than the movement was tolerated as a separate political party. Such bigots resented the action of Catholics "in traducing *free America*—denouncing the Protestant religion and the charitable and reformatory institutions of the State, *because the Protestant Bible and Protestant teachers alone are allowed within them.*" Yet the justice of Catholic claims appeared at once if put into the simple question: Why should Catholic children be admitted into such State Institutions, for which Catholics pay as well as Protestants, if their teachers and priests are excluded? The opponents of the Catholic claims talked, wrote, and acted as if the United States were a country where Protestantism was the established religion and Catholicism merely tolerated. They were plainly told, first in Buffalo and then in Rochester, "that Catholics are not merely tolerated, but that they have equal rights with Protestants—that this is neither a Protestant nor a Catholic country, but a country in which all religions are equally free—that Catholics never were strangers in America in its civilized form—that it was discovered by Catholics—that the oldest town in the United States was founded by Catholics—that the first example of religious toleration was given by Catholics—that the richest signer of the immortal document, 'The Declaration of Independence", was a Catholic—that the Revolutionary Congress associated John Carroll, who became the first Catholic Bishop, with Benjamin Franklin and Judge Chase to aid the cause of American liberty—that Catholic France, Catholic Spain, and Catholic Poland aided us in the glorious struggle for liberty! Why then blame Catholics when firmly, but still meekly and respectfully, they ask for natural rights, which

are granted to them even in Protestant Prussia and Protestant England?"[66] This historical argument had been used before in Rochester by William Dunn, who wrote September 28, 1854, when Know Nothingism was in its prime strength. His letter was printed in the Rochester *Daily Union,* October 5, 1854.

> Mr. Editor:—As one of the humbler class of citizens threatened to be proscribed, and seeing the manly independent tone which characterizes your journal for years back, permit me to offer a few remarks.
>
> There never was a time within the "History" of the U. States when there were more exaggerated rumors afloat . . . It is scarcely necessary for me to remark that the Democratic party and the Democratic press have always denounced and exposed every system opposed to what was laid down by the illustrious fathers, from Jefferson to Jackson, and from him to the present executive, while on the contrary, the Whig press, the Abolition press, the Know Nothing press are incessantly denouncing adopted citizens—they are insulted and taunted on account of their religion . . . . .
>
> The immortal Jefferson was the author of the Declaration of Independence which proclaimed liberty to all men as their "inalienable right", and it need hardly be said that the life and teaching of that illustrious statesman has been the orthodox faith of the Democratic party. The Whig or Federal party, on the contrary, maintained very different grounds. They required that foreigners should be here fourteen years before they could enjoy the blessings of liberty—to vote for him who should rule them and legislate for them, or judge them and condemn them. At the celebrated convention, held at the city of Hartford, Connecticut, January 4th, 1814, among other resolutions adopted by the Federalists is the following:
>
> "6th Resolved, That no person who shall hereafter be a naturalized citizen of the United States shall be eligible as a member of the Senate or House of Representatives of the U. S., nor be capable of holding office under the authority of the U. S."
>
> Such was Federalism in 1814, such was Native Americanism in 1844, and such is Know Nothingism in 1854.
>
> They will call us very absurdly "foreigners", "Irishmen", "Catholics". To be an Irishman is to be a Catholic; to be a Catholic is to be all that is superstitious, designing, and corrupt.—They will tell us how incompatible the Catholic religion is with a republican form of government. They will repeat this old, worn out calumny a thousand times refuted. Every man who ever read history knows better . . . . .
>
> The colony of Maryland was the first of the American States in which religious toleration was established by law. Lord Baltimore, himself a Catholic, proclaimed that religious toleration should be the fundamental principle of the colonial social union. The assembly in 1649, composed of Roman Catholics, declared and ordained that

no person professing to believe in Jesus Christ should be molested on account of his faith, or denied the free exercise of his mode of worship. At the same time that Christians were persecuting their Protestant brethren in New England, Catholic Maryland was a sanctuary for the refugees of all denominations of Christians, where Protestants sought a refuge from Protestants. In 1666, Maryland passed the first law in the provinces for the naturalization of aliens. It is the height of folly for those Know-Nothings to attempt to proscribe a man for his birth place or his creed.—

Some of them have the hardihood to assert that Gen. Washington was a Native American, &c. This is another egregious mistake. In his reply to the Roman Catholics of the United States, on his retirement from public life, he says:

"And I presume that your fellow citizens will not forget the patriotic part you took in the accomplishment of their revolution and the establishment of their government, or the important assistance they received from a nation, in which the Roman Catholic Faith is professed."

In conclusion, Mr. Editor, permit me to say that this new organization appearing in our midst is not of modern date in this country. —It comes from England, the nursery of oppression, but the sun of Democracy is fast shining upon it, and will inevitably cut it off, and hence it must go where it is now—seeking darkness, choosing this, "because it hates the light, for its deeds are evil."[67]

All this had little influence upon the Know Nothings, as is evident from their Declaration of Principles in the Spring of 1855 and from their Platform in the autumn of the same year. The former declared against "sectarian influence in our legislation or the administration of American laws," but the following clause clearly showed what was really intended; it proclaimed "hostility to the assumptions of the Pope, through the bishops, priests, and prelates of the Roman Catholic church, here in a Republic sanctified by Protestant blood." Nor was any one deceived by the declaration for "thorough reform in the naturalization laws", or for "free and liberal educational institutions for all sects and classes with the Bible, God's Holy Word, as a universal text book."[68] The Platform had a plank against "proscription of persons on account of religious opinions", but this did not prevent an immediate declaration of "hostility to the assumptions of the papal power through the bishops, prelates, priests, or ministers of the Roman Cathlic church as anti-republican in principle and dangerous to the liberties of the people." These were to be further protected, as in the declaration of Principles, by "thorough reform in

the naturalization laws of the federal government", and by "free and reliable institutions for the education of all classes of the people, with the Bible as a text-book in our common schools." The hypocrisy of Know Nothingism in these things was equaled, if not surpassed, in the demand of the Platform for "the enactment of the laws for the protection of the purity of the ballot box by the state."[69] Only in the previous year, Know Nothings had passed a resolution requiring every member of the Order to vote for candidates for charter and all other offices endorsed or nominated by the council of the ward or district, for which such officers are to be elected. Every person violating this resolution was to be expelled from the Order.[70] This naturally led to the creation of "the test", at which any Know Nothing was required, in his lodge, to reply with uplifted hand to such questions as might be put to him regarding his vote. The answers given under the test, if not satisfactory, were a suitable basis for a vote of expulsion.[71] There was certainly need of laws for the protection of the ballot box under such methods of constraint. Where lying hypocrisy was so patent, it is not surprising that the charge made against Daniel Ullman of New York, nominated as Governor on the Know Nothing Ticket in the State campaign of 1854, should be widely accepted throughout the State. Ullman was said to be the child of German Jewish parents, of whom he was born in Calcutta. The tale also related that he spoke broken English as a school-boy in Jefferson county, and that he was accustomed to pose as a native of India when a student at Harvard. Ullman denied the story, and produced affidavits to show that he was a native of Delaware. Nevertheless, it did service all through the campaign, and his partisans were the Hindoos thereafter.[72] Although Ullman was not elected, his ticket polled 122,000 votes.[73]

At Rochester, the Know Nothing Mayor, Dr. Strong, also failed to obtain, in the autumn of 1854, the coveted nomination as candidate for Congress.[74] This fact was hailed as a good sign, but expectations were sadly disappointed when he received a Know Nothing successor in the Charter election of municipal officers, March 6, 1855. The vote for Mayor stood; Know Nothing, Hayden 1740; Whig, Andrews 1579; Democrat, Conkey 1467. Besides, Know Nothings were elected for the offices of City Treasurer, City Assessor, Justice of Peace,

and Sealer of Weights and Measures. There was also a good Know Nothing representation voted into the various Boards of Supervisors, Aldermen, and School Commissioners.[75] Although success thus crowned their efforts, their campaign in the City had been disgraced by the anarchy of mob violence.

A call had been circulated some days for a Mass Meeting at the Court House of all Opposed to Secret Political Societies: "The undersigned citizens of Rochester and vicinity would beg leave to call a Public Meeting, (the importance of which none can doubt), on Wednesday Evening, Feb. 28th, to consider the demoralizing effects of Secret Political Societies. When bad or deluded men combine by Oaths secretly, good men must unite and affirm openly, or lose their Liberties." The recognized State organ of the Know Nothings, the *Albany Register*, said significantly: "The Hindoos will take care of things out in Monroe."[77] In Rochester, Messrs. C. C. Messerve and John Greig of the East Side Lodge and Messrs. A. J. Parker, S. W. D. Moore, and J. R. Thompson of the West Side Lodge were put on the Know Nothing Committee, charged with organizing the opposition of the Order against the advertised meeting.[78] They determined to stampede it, and orders went out to that effect, with detailed instructions how it was all to be done. There was no fear of any intervention by the Police Force, as the Police Justice himself was on the organizing Committee, as Mayor Strong was a member of the Order, and so bound under oath to cooperate. In fact, the Policemen —appointed by the Mayor and removable at his will—were mostly brother members of Dr. Strong.

According to plan, a Know Nothing meeting was organized on Wednesday Evening, February 28, before those who had issued the call were able to do so. Henry Hunter was President, L. K. Faulkner Vice-President, G. B. Brand Secretary; A. J. Parker, F. B. Hines, W. D. Shuart, J. Y. Dennis, and Noah Perrin were appointed a committee of five to report resolutions. When S. P. Allen saw the secret plan of action unfolding, he simply made the motion that those who signed the call for the meeting withdraw to organize a meeting of their own in the County Court Room. The step was apparently unexpected. Know Nothings made a rush to follow those who withdrew, but they were prevailed upon to remain until the meeting passed upon the resolutions the Committee was

scheduled to report. While awaiting this, James R. Thompson made a typical Know Nothing speech, "denouncing the Catholics and defending the Bible and the Common Schools, all of which he thought in danger from foreign influence." The report of the Committee on resolutions, read by Mr. Shuart before these members of a secret, oath-bound Society in Rochester, is well worthy of the Father of Lies:

> Resolved, That the Secret Organization of the Jesuits against this and other countries is alike demoralizing and injurious to Republican Institutions.
>
> Resolved, That, when 'bad and deluded' politicians combine to avail themselves of the influence and power of deliberate organization against the liberties of this or any other country, good men ought to unite openly in opposing both.
>
> Resolved, That we, as members of a Republican Government, feel it our duty to oppose such a secret organization, having for its direct purpose the destruction of the principles of our Government, and we believe it our duty to advocate the principles and policy of *our Illustrious Washington.*

The resolutions were unanimously adopted. All semblance of law and order ceased with the motions to adjourn. There were then hisses, groans, and shrieks for everybody and anybody thought worthy of denunciation by the infatuated Know Nothings. Their meeting was degraded into the rowdyism of a noisy mob, which soon did its best to break up the meeting of their opponents in the County Court Room. The place "was nearly filled with people, among whom we noticed many of our older and most respectable citizens." The officers elected there were John Haywood, President; Elias Pond, John T. Lacey, and Adam Elder, Vice-Presidents; G. W. Rawson and F. S. Rew, Secretaries; S. P. Allen, C. Huson, Jr., G. S. Copeland, and Dr. Long, Committee on resolutions. While they were still unmolested, the members of this meeting had voted the set of resolutions reported by the Committee. Unlike the Know Nothing resolutions, they ring true in the text, with the exception of the bad use of the term "Jesuit."

> Resolved, That the Declaration of Independence forms one of the most sublime pages in History, commemorating a truth of prophecy, that in the fulness of time a Nation should be born in a day.
>
> Resolved, That, as all men are born equal and possess certain inalienable rights, it is insulting to their understanding to presume that they will alienate these rights for the sole benefit of the leaders of a secret political society and bestow upon them all offices of

THE UNSEEN SIGNAL OF THE JESUITS

A Knownothing cartoon to poison the minds of ignorant dupes against the Catholic Church. By such calumnies against the confessional, one of the most sacred institutions of Christ for the forgiveness of sin, protected by the most solemn seal of secrecy against abuse, Knownothings tried to raise the cry of foreign "political" entanglements against Catholics of the United States of America.

honor and profit; we trust rather that they will repudiate those who claim the chances of political preferment, and bestow their suffrages upon those, and those only, who claim Justice under the sacred law of Equality.

Resolved, That secret political socities, in which oaths are administered and held to be sacredly binding, are at war with the spirit of Republicanism, upon which our Government is founded; and that, in the language of the immortal WASHINGTON, "they are likely, in the course of time and of things, to become potent engines by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people and to usurp for themselves the reins of government."

Resolved, That we are in favor of a strict and upright administration of the naturalization laws, by which the admission, as citizens, of unworthy persons may be prevented; but we would welcome, in the appointed way and after a reasonable probation, all who are truly attached to our Constitution and form of Government, and who solemnly renounce allegiance to all other sovereignties and forms of government.

Resolved, That, sharing in the fears expressed by Washington that Secret Political Societies are the most dangerous foes to Republican Government, we will not knowingly support for office any man who is bound by oaths and obligations to such a society. We hold such men to be Jesuits and foes to the immutable laws of Justice and Equality.

Resolved, That we acknowledge and avow allegiance to the Constitution of Our Country, and hold it to be our duty, a duty from which we cannot and would not release ourselves, to transmit that Constitution and the free institutions, which rest upon it, unimpaired and inviolate to our children; and that for this purpose we rely upon Education and the general diffusion of intelligence rather than upon midnight meetings, and oaths, and obligations which require the sacrifice of the essential attributes which constitute a Freeman.

Speeches were to follow the adoption of these resolutions. In fact, just as the mob began to invade the Court Room, the principal speaker of the evening, Senator A. B. Dickinson of Steuben County, was venting his indignation against the Know Nothings, who had seized possession of the Hall to override a meeting in response to a Call signed by 1500 citizens, who would next seize possession of the Churches, who, in a word, were doing more to prostrate civil and religious liberty than any or all organizations that had gone before them. Here was the Know Nothing opportunity, for which the organizing Committee had prepared its forces. The report of a witness tells what followed.

> The members of the Order showed excellent drill; they enacted the scandalous and degrading parts assigned them respectively with the coolness of veteran soldiers on a forlorn hope. Not only young men, mere boys indeed, but men of grey heads, whose faces wore the marks which nothing short of a half century can enstamp, were there, bellowing themselves hoarse and taking a conspicuous part in the preconcerted programme. Among those were men, who would have felt themselves deeply wronged, had any body one short month ago told them that Know Nothingism would insidously draw them into taking part in a mob organized in secret to break up a lawful and peaceable assemblage of their fellow citizens. There were men from the surrounding towns, who had come, in obedience to their oaths and the behest of their Committee, to trample law and order under foot and enthrone anarchy, violence, and confusion. There, among others, stood JONATHAN WOOD of Irondequoit, a man of respectable pretensions and a member of a Christian Church, bawling out with stentorian voice and endeavoring to break down Senator Dickinson by insulting and reproachful remarks. He and others of like position, and like him the professed followers of the Son of Man, editors, lawyers, merchants, and so on, seemed to remember only the "obligations" assumed in secret conclave, surrounded by midnight darkness, and to forget as well the "obligations" imposed by their divine Master as those inseparable from the Citizens of a country, where the sovereignty resides exclusively with the people.

The chairman's efforts to get order were unavailing till Mr. Dickinson took his seat amid cries for Bloss. This gentleman immediately apologized for this outrage that disgraced the fair name of Rochester, and, despite disapproving groans and hisses, comparative quiet was restored. However, as soon as Mr. Dickinson began to speak again, the Know Nothings in the rear broke out anew with vulgar and obscene expressions, unfit for publication. After they had filled the measure of iniquity, the mob gradually gave way, especially in face of the vigorous denunciation of the disturbers by Frederick Starr. He was followed by John Greig, who had been reported by mistake as a member of the secret order, but disclaimed any connection with the Know Nothings. C. Huson, Jr., made the most telling point against Know Nothing agitation, in the concluding speech of the evening, by citing against their declared policy the Declaration of Independence.

> In that great Bill of impeachment against the King of Great Britain as drawn by Jefferson, no two wrongs of complaint were more prominent than these: That he forced upon us the institution of domestic slavery, and that he had "endeavored to prevent the population of these States—for that purpose obstructing the laws

for naturalization of foreigners." This latter clause is now a part of the Declaration of Independence, and will stand for all time the recorded evidence of the opinions of our Revolutionary Fathers in respect to the immigration of people from other countries and population of these States. It was the object of the Fathers of the Republic to encourage immigration. The first attempt to retard it was made by the Alien Law under John Adams. We all know the result of that experiment. The next attempt was by resolutions to that effect by the Hartford Convention. Must we at this day go back for patterns of conduct to those schemes which are most infamous in the annals of our country?

But the question is not whether we have had too much or too little immigration, or whether our naturalization laws are too easy or too stringent. The question under consideration tonight is whether, in a free government which should rest upon the combined wisdom of all the persons composing it, secret societies or cabals should be formed to operate upon the prejudices of classes and nationalities, and upon the consciences of sects. If our country is laboring under any political misfortune, come forward, proclaim it, prescribe the remedy, meet us with argument and reason, and skulk not into a midnight cabal to plot the destruction of character and to undermine our social fabric.

We have but to look to the reputed members of this secret society to ascertain its objects and its aims. Are not its leaders composed of those ambitious men who have been thrown off from the old political organizations, and are seeking a new home and new political affiliations? Are not such men, merely for political purpose, ruthlessly exciting the honest prejudices of large classes of the community? Such is the fact. And I pronounce such a society mischievous in the extreme. It is a great sore upon the body politic.

We are commanded by God and instructed by experience to beware of deceivers. But what is this association of men but a series of deceptions from the beginning to the end? Every day we meet our fellow citizens, those who claim to be respectable and who enter into conversation with us on the assumed basis of old organizations and mutual opinions. They protest that they do not belong to the "Order" with all the earnestness and sincerity of truth, when they stand before you branded with a strength of evidence strong enough to hang a man, were the accusation murder instead of Know Nothingism! They begin by trying to deceive their honest fellow citizens, and end by deceiving themselves and one another. Why, gentlemen, the air has not yet ceased to vibrate with the imprecations recently sent forth by one part of the "Order" against the other for deceiving them. Such is the natural offspring of a harlot parentage.

I have thought much on the blessings and dignity of American citizenship. I am proud that I am an American citizen. It is my glory that we have here these political institutions, which are best adapted to develop our common humanity—to bring forth all the elements of civil, religious, physical, and social progress. I could not be proud

> of my country for its isolation, but rather that it is a great shining light among the nations of the earth, inviting by its good government, social order, and physical resources not only the admiration of the world, but a disposition to share in its blessings by the downtrodden of other countries and climes. And viewing American citizenship in this light, I must candidly say that I have been pained, inexpressibly pained to witness here tonight such a disgusting exhibition of *bastard* Americanism as has displayed itself on this occasion.

The meeting adjourned in good order, but it was no fault of the city authorities that it did so. The mob spent itself after anarchy had reigned supreme in a public meeting in the very centre of the City, without any interference of Mayor, Police Justice, or Policemen in behalf of law and order. Several Know Nothing Policemen were actually present at the meeting, in plain clothes of course, passive witnesses of the triumph of the mob, of whose organization and purposes they were doubtless fully advised beforehand. One of these Policemen even threatened an Irishman with arrest for replying to a Know Nothing, who was speaking to create confusion. The Know Nothing mob, however, had full license to carry out the program of riotous proceedings unparalleled in the annals of the City of Rochester. The spectacle was hardly calculated to prove "Protestant piety an indispensable qualification for civil office", as the Know Nothings claimed or intimated in their fundamental principles.[79]

Although the Know Nothings carried the Charter election, March 6, 1855, they did not escape the well merited Grand Jury investigation of their methods. This established the startling fact that the Know Nothing Organization considered itself above and independent of the judiciary established by law. Men, reputed to be good citizens and professors of religion, refused to answer questions put by the Grand Jury until compelled to do so by the Court. This was even the case with Ex-Mayor Strong when asked some questions anent Know Nothingism, although he had taken several oaths to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. It took an intimation of legal penalties by Judge Welles before Dr. Strong could be made not to perjure himself by telling the truth, but this exposed him to "being denounced . . . . . as a traitor to his God" by the Know Nothing Order. However, Maltby Strong was not of the timber out of which martyrs are

made.[80] Finally, despite all obstructions, the Grand Jury was able to present the results of its investigation to the *Honorable Court of Oyer and Terminer of the County of Monroe.*

The Grand Jury of this County, having been especially charged by the Court to make enquiry as to all violations and infractions of the election laws of this State, have, in the discharge of this duty, called before them a large number of citizens, and made diligent enquiry on that subject. They find by Sec. 5 of the General Election Law that, if any person shall, by bribery, menace, or other corrupt means or device whatsoever, either directly or indirectly attempt to influence any elector of this State in giving his vote or ballot, or deter him from giving then the same, or disturb him in the free exercise of the right of suffrage at any election in this State, held pursuant to this chapter, and shall thereof be convicted, such person so offending shall be adjudged guilty of misdemeanor, and be fined, or imprisoned, according to the discretion of the Court, before which such conviction shall be had; such fine in no case to exceed $500, nor such imprisonment one year.

It appears, from the testimony taken before us, that there are a number of societies or orders of men in this country, who have formed themselves into secret combinations for political action, and that these societies meet only in secret; that their members are admitted under oaths and obligations, and pledged to inviolable secrecy; that they are induced to enter the society under a variety of pretences, and to take upon themselves oaths and binding obligations that they will vote for certain particular classes of their fellow citizens, or individual citizens; that they will cast their votes and use their elective franchise according to the behests and requirements of their order, or the officers thereof, under the rules of the order; that by their oaths and obligations they are bound to vote under the penalty of perjury, or being perjured and as being unworthy to be employed, countenanced, or supported in any business whatever, and as persons totally unworthy of the confidence of their fellow citizens, for under these penalties they are bound to vote for the persons designated by the order, without regard to their own individual choice or preference of candidates.

That members of this society or order, having taken those oaths and obligations, are informed by the order or officers thereof that a refusal to vote for the candidates of the order will subject them to the charge of perjury and render them infamous and unworthy of the confidence of all good men. And thus they are directly influenced in giving their vote or ballot, or deterred from giving the same, and are deterred and hindered in the free exercise of the right of suffrage. And it further appears that members have been threatened that, if they did not vote according to the requisition of the order, that they should be deemed as perjured under those oaths and obligations, and should be subject to disgrace and infamy, and, as false and perjured, be expelled with dishonor.

That such societies or orders after the last general election called their members to account to them or their officers as to the manner, in which they discharged the elective franchise, and required them to declare upon oath for whom they cast their votes at the said election.

The Grand Jury have been much embarassed in their investigation by the refusal of witnesses to answer the questions put to them as to their proceedings in secret session on the ground that a disclosure of those facts would render them *infamous*, and in other cases the witnesses claimed protection on the ground that answers to the questions would *criminate* themselves.

Having thus been deprived of the full disclosure of facts, no individual cases have been presented by us, and the jury beg, therefore, leave to make this general presentment against such oaths and combinations that are, in their opinion, a direct violation of the statute in relation to elections, as the law was designed to protect and guard every elector in a free and voluntary choice in casting his ballot, and to allow every citizen, otherwise worthy, to be a proper subject of such suffrage. We believe from the testimony before us that such proceedings strike at the foundation of individual liberty of action and tend directly to destroy the great and cardinal principles of our institutions as founded by our forefathers,—that our institutions can only continue to exist by the free and uncontrolled action of the citizens, and that all such restraints and obligations are destructive to an elective and free government. All of which has been duly adopted and is most respectfully submitted.

Fifteen of the twenty persons in the Grand Jury signed this report. The names are worthy of preservation for all times. They are William C. Bloss, Foreman, Chauncey Allen, Caleb B. Corser, George W. Goodman, Ebenezer L. Gage, John Graham, Lewis Billings, Elias Garrison, Robert J. Fellows, David McKay, Thomas W. Walker, Roswell Lockwood, Jacob Garrison, Lyman Johnson, Butler Bardwell. The five others, Jared Coleman, David Starkey, W. I. Hanford, Mason Cole, and Philip M. Simons had reasons of their own to submit a dissenting report. It speaks for itself, especially in the light of the Majority Report.

We, the members of the Grand Jury, beg leave to report that we have diligently and laboriously investigated for days into the doings and sayings of Secret Political Organizations and their bearing upon the Elective Franchise; and also we have deliberately and candidly inquired if any person or persons, party or parties, had stifled or suppressed free speech and liberal discussion, and have not been able to substantiate the crime or violation of Election Laws or the Elective Franchise upon any person or party. This we humbly beg leave to submit as a Minority Report.[81]

The Grand Jury investigation may have put some fear into the hearts of the Know Nothings. At all events, a lecture by Miss Carlson, advertised to show up nunneries, a couple of weeks later, turned out a fizzle, though it was to be delivered under the auspices of "The American." Minerva Hall was all ready, and so was Miss Sabina, but there was no audience outside of a few little girls, and so there was no lecture.[82] However, Rochester Know Nothings recovered their courage with their success in the State Elections of November, when they polled 147,200 votes.[83] In their celebration of the victory, November 19, 1855, they were unprincipled enough to burn *Roman* candles in the street parade at night, and also to listen to the bad English of a foreign speaker in the City Hall, where they concluded the demonstration.[84] This speaker was an apostate Italian Dominican, Giacinto Achilli, who collected contributions for missionary purposes in Protestant churches the Sunday before the political celebration. In his case the irony of fate was also apparent. Protestants ought to have been on their guard, as this man had been revealed in his true colours by no less a person than John Henry Newman in his *Lectures on the Present Position of Catholics in England Addressed to the Brothers of the Oratory in the Summer of 1851.* The future Cardinal, then a simple Priest of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, made it his business to expose the past life of shame led by this Judas. To make the revelations all the more effective, Newman had Achilli speak in his own name:

> I have been a Catholic and an infidel; I have been a Roman priest and a hyprocrite; I have been a profligate under a cowl. I am that Father Achilli, who, as early as 1826, was deprived of my faculty to lecture for an offence which my superiors did their best to conceal; and who, in 1827, had already earned the reputation of a scandalous friar. I am that Achilli, who in the diocese of Viterbo in February, 1831, robbed of her honour a young woman of eighteen; who in September, 1833, was found guilty of a second crime in the case of a person of twenty-eight; and who perpetrated a third in July, 1834, in the case of another aged twenty-four. I am he who afterwards was found guilty of sins, similar or worse, in other towns of the neighbourhood. I am that son of St. Dominic who is known to have repeated the offence at Capua, in 1834 and 1835; and at Naples again, in 1840, in the case of a child of fifteen. I am he who chose the sacristy of that church for one of these crimes and Good Friday for another. Look at me, ye mothers of England, a confessor against Popery, for ye ne'er may look upon my like again.

> I am that veritable priest, who, after all this, began to speak against, not only the Catholic faith, but the moral law, and perverted others by my teaching. I am the Cavaliere Achilli, who then went to Corfu, made the wife of a tailor faithless to her husband, and lived publicly and travelled about with the wife of a chorus-singer. I am that Professor in the Protestant College at Malta, who, with two others, was dismissed from my post for offences which the authorities cannot get themselves to describe. And so attend to me, such as I am, and you shall see what you shall see about the barbarity and profligacy of the Inquisitors of Rome.[85]

This confession of crime ought to have discredited his attacks upon the Catholic Church and its representatives, but his promoters knew the difficulty of producing all the evidence in support of the charges as well as the temper of an English jury, and so they had Achilli sue Dr. Newman for libel. The evidence was produced at enormous expense, as it became necessary to bring the victims of Achilli's lust to England to testify. Nevertheless, the Jury returned a manifestly unjust verdict in favor of Achilli against Newman. The *London Times*, therefore, declared the proceedings in the trial "indecorous in their nature, unsatisfactory in their result, and little calculated to increase the respect of the people for the administration of justice or the estimation by foreign nations of the English name and character. We consider that a great blow has been given to the administration of justice in this country, and that Roman Catholics will henceforth have only too good a reason for asserting that there is no justice for them in cases tending to arouse Protestant feelings of judges and juries."[86] Although Newman lost the legal victory, he gained a moral one. Achilli's reputation, or what was left of it, was blasted away by the evidence produced. According to Archbishop Bayley, "the force of public opinion obliged Achilli to leave England, and the only place to which he could turn his footsteps was the United States. He was received here by the No Surrender Party with open arms. Appleton, at that time, was issuing his Encyclopedia, and published a column and a half about this great Italian Reformer, who, if he had his deserts, would have been an inmate of the State's prison. Unfortunately for him, he came to live in New Jersey, [where Archbishop Bayley was then Bishop of Newark]. New Jersey has a special dislike for rogues of all kinds, and Achilli was arrested . . . . . He managed, however, to get clear, and ran

away; since which time he has not been heard from."[87] The source of Achilli's trouble was exactly what might be expected from his past record. In the summer of 1858, Dr. Achilli began to board with Justus Smith, the proprietor of a water-cure establishment at Bergen Heights, bringing with him a son and a lady governess for the boy. The relations between this woman and her alleged employer caused Justus Smith to take the necessary legal steps to enforce the law in the case, as is evident from the following document:

> State of New Jersey, Hudson County, ss.—
>
> Before me, James O'Neil, one of the Justices of Peace in and for said county, personally appeared Justus Smith of the city of Hudson, in said county, who being duly sworn according to law, upon his oath complains that on or about the first day of December, 1859, and on divers other days within the period of six months next before said last mentioned day, at the city of Hudson, in the county of Hudson aforesaid, one Giacinto Achilli and one Mary Bogue did, at the city aforesaid, on the days and during the days aforesaid, each commit the crime of fornication in having sexual intercourse contrary to law, as deponent is informed and believes, and, therefore, he prays that said Giacinto Achilli and Mary Bogue may be apprehended and held to answer the said complaint, and dealt with as law and justice may require.
>
> Sworn and subscribed to before me, at the city of Hoboken, in said county, this twentieth day of December, 1859.
>
> JUSTUS SMITH.
>
> JAMES O'NEIL, Justice of the Peace.[88]

When Dr. Achilli was put under arrest, he claimed that Mary Bogue was his wife, although not publicly proclaimed as such for private reasons. Bail of $100 was furnished, December 22, 1859, for his appearance at the Court of General Sessions, January 2, 1860. Dr. Achilli asserted that Smith's complaint was prompted by his failure to obtain $500 as hush money for concealing the connection between the defendant and his wife.[89] Unfortunately for Dr. Achilli, the newspaper report of his troubles in New Jersey reached the wife and children whom he had shipped the summer before from New York to Florence, Italy. His family there was in perfectly destitute circumstances, living on the alms of our countrymen, according to a letter sent from Florence to Newark.[90] Thus another apostate was finally discredited, but not before he had conciliated Protestant feeling, first in England and then in the United States.

About the same time that Dr. Achilli found such favor with the Know Nothings of Rochester, news reached the City that a Rev. Mr. Lord was touring the hills and vales of Steuben County, also lecturing against Catholicism. He received a warm welcome from all who had a holy horror of the Church in that region until he disappeared after having obtained a suit of clothes, worth $30, under false pretenses. Nevertheless, he appeared in Corning a year later, and addressed the Fremont Club there. One of his hearers, James Clark, an ardent Democrat and a prominent Catholic of Corning, recognized the swindler and denounced him at once. The "Free Monsters", however, were indignant and compelled Mr. Clark to desist. Determined not to be foiled again, Mr. Clark procured a warrant, and had the "shrieker" arrested in Tioga, Pa., whither he had followed him. The swindler confessed the crime, for which he settled by giving all he possessed. The occurrence led the *Rochester Daily Union* to exclaim: "When will our Fremont friends learn from experience? . . . Others of like stamp have imposed upon them—yet they are like graveyards—take in everything that comes along."[91]

They were not the only ones in that condition. This was amply proved by the career of Leon Roberts in Rochester, December, 1858. As he was of French extraction and spoke French, he first tried his luck with the Pastor of the French Church on Ely St., to whom he introduced himself as a poor student for the Catholic ministry, forced to beg the means needed to pay for his education. He tried to disarm any suspicion of dishonesty by offering to deposit thirty dollars with the priest for safe keeping. The trick did not succeed. The priest tested his knowledge of Latin, in which he had claimed some proficiency, but the lesson proved too hard, though simple enough in itself, and Roberts left, promising to call again. This he failed to do for a very good reason. He had met with success before in victimizing the Protestant clergy in Canada, where he was known to the Rectors of Grimsby and St. Catherines as Charles Cartier, pretended relative of Hon. Mr. Cartier, Attorney General of Lower Canada.[92] He now gave up studying for the Catholic ministry, thinking it to be more profitable to represent himself as a Convert to Protestantism. Now his father was a wealthy man, a Flour Inspector at Montreal, a "Romanist" who had disinherited him. He now

appealed for help to prepare himself for the Protestant ministry at Beloit College, Wisconsin. He could show the endorsement of Rev. Dr. Duffield of Detroit, and he also now obtained the endorsement of three prominent clergymen of Rochester, who recommended him to the public as worthy of support. He even received a list of names from one or more clergymen, and every man on the list is said to have given him a dollar, moved no doubt by the favorable discussion of his case in the Session of one of the Presbyterian Churches as well as by the zeal and piety manifested by the convert. He took part in the morning meeting at the First Church, where his prayer was highly extolled, and he labored zealously in the Sunday School of another church. At Ayer's Hotel, however, where he had made his home, he took his four drams before breakfast, and made propositions to young men less dissolute than himself, which were unfit for publication in a decent newspaper of Rochester. The proprietors began to feel some distrust in regard to Mr. Leon Robert's honesty, but Rev. Mr. Ellenwood signed an order to have the boardbill charged to himself. As soon as the convert business was about played out, Roberts disappeared, leaving an empty carpet bag in his room and an unpaid bill at the hotel office. Rev. Mr. Ellenwood was much surprised to discover that the board amounted to seven dollars a week, and not $3.50, as he had been told by Roberts.[93] At Batavia, Roberts then succeeded in obtaining a small contribution from Rev. E. Kempshall, with the help of the letters with which the confidence man had been furnished.[94] When information was obtained from Montreal, it was learned that there was an Assistant Flour Inspector by the name of Leon Roberts there, but he was not the Leon Roberts who had operated in Rochester and elsewhere.[95] This Roberts was a tailor by trade who preferred to live by fraud rather than by honest work. He had left Montreal after swindling a man there out of forty dollars.[96] This information was not of much comfort to his Protestant dupes, whom the mere title of convert to Protestantism from the Catholic Church was sufficient to put off their guard. Thus, even Chiniquy was heard at Geneseo, November 9, 1859, by a large audience "with much interest and effect. Himself a man of power, his cause is well calculated to enlist the sympathies and obtain the benefactions of all who love their species and who love the truth."[97] Honest

praise of such a man is really a mystery of iniquity, unless an adequate explanation be furnished by the survival of the Know Nothing spirit outside of the field of politics.

In the City of Rochester, the Know Nothings had lost their hold on political power years before this. Their avowed object had been to gain possession of "all offices of honor, trust, or profit in the gift of the people." The tax budget, in their administration of the City, looked as though they were intent not so much on the honor and trust as on the profit. The issue, therefore, in the Charter Election, March 3, 1856, was taxation. The Opponents of the Know Nothings determined not to divide their votes, as they had done before at the risk of a Know Nothing victory at the polls. The Reform candidate for Mayor, Andrews, received 3555 votes, and the Know Nothing candidate, Swan, only 1365 votes, withal only 375 less than the Know Nothing vote for Mayor the previous year.[98] This was the end of Know Nothing power in the municipal government of Rochester. It took several years more before the career of the Know Nothing Party was ended in State politics. The last Grand Council took place at Schenectady, August 28, 1860. Here Dr. Maltby Strong of Monroe was appointed to a Committee empowered to call a session of the Council at such future time as it may fix. The call was never issued.[99]

This review of the anti-Catholic political movement might best conclude with a notice of a lecture that L. Sullivan Ives, LL.D., of New York, (Late Protestant Episcopal Bishop of North Carolina), upon an invitation from a large number of Catholic Gentlemen, gave to an audience of 1200 persons in Corinthian Hall, December 1, 1856. *The Sources of Protestant Prejudice against Catholicity* was the subject of the lecture. Dr. Ives arranged his matter under three heads: False Tradition, Superficial Observation, and Intentional Misrepresentation.

The False Tradition was traced back mainly to the Protestant Reformation, when charges were advanced against the Catholic Church under circumstances that made them necessarily incorrect and unreliable. These accusations had been handed down from age to age, until they had acquired universal credence amongst Protestants, and so became the basis of wrong judgment. Although Protestant authorities against

the Catholic Church are quite numerous, their pretended facts are all borrowed from one or two unreliable sources, and dressed up to give them a formidable appearance. Eminent Protestant writers have openly admitted this. The modern Protestant mind is also prejudiced against Catholicity by the bigoted spirit which pervades English Literature, especially that of the Elizabethan age. This finds a place in all our public libraries and public reading rooms, while Catholic histories and literature are carefully excluded. Nevertheless, Dr. Ives could not be harsh with his Protestant friends, because of their prejudices, as they had been early planted in their minds and had grown with them. He could not forget his own experience as a Protestant, and he only desired to awaken them to a sense of their condition, and, if possible, induce them to examine the matter, and thus arrive at a correct conclusion.

A two years' residence at Rome enabled Dr. Ives to illustrate Protestant prejudice arising from superficial observation. Most travelers spent but a month there, which is insufficient for the correct understanding of things. Many of his American and Protestant friends had to change their rash judgments when they came to understand matters fully. A careful visit through Italy disabused the mind of no less a personage than an Ex-President of the United States of false notions, and made him admit that the Catholic Church deserved credit for many things that misrepresentation had perverted into charges and calumnies. Our own country had been likewise wronged in the hasty observations made by Dickens and other English writers. Their misrepresentations of American life and manners appear so ludicrous to us, and yet the authors give their stories with apparent sincerity.

The worst source of prejudice, however, was intentional misrepresentation, especially when Catholics and their institutions were maligned by writers who refused to correct or explain after the fact was brought to their notice. The *London Times* furnished a case to illustrate the point. A number of English travellers discovered a notice upon the door of a Catholic Cathedral on the Continent; they translated and published it in the *Times* as a notice for the sale of indulgences permitting the commission of certain sins. The statement was readily swallowed by Protestants, but a Committee sent to examine the original notice on the Cathedral door found it to

be a simple advertisement for the sale of chairs that take the place of pews. A flagrant case of misrepresentation was also furnished in this country during the Know Nothing excitement by the publication of a school book with certain calumnies against Catholics, although these had been expunged long ago as disproved from previous editions of the same book.

The Catholic audience had suffered much from these sources of prejudice during the agitation of the past years. They were, therefore, in a position to appreciate the points made by Dr. Ives, and frequently applauded the lecturer, who finally "closed with a few general observations, in language most beautiful, breathing a spirit of devotion to the religion which he had embraced, love for his country, and respect for all."[100]

Chapter VIII

TRUSTEEISM AT ST. PETER'S CHURCH

External troubles arising out of anti-Catholic agitation were grievous enough in themselves, but internal difficulties added much to the trials encountered by the Catholic Church in Rochester during this period. The tenure of Church property came to be the sore spot in St. Peter's Congregation. On the creation of the Buffalo Diocese, Bishop Hughes, who held the deed "in trust for the said St. Peter's congregation,"[1] in 1848 executed a conveyance of all the churches that passed into the jurisdiction of Bishop Timon. Certain doubts, however, arose as to the validity of the trust deed to Bishop Hughes, and so the new Bishop asked for a warranty deed from Messrs. Zeug and Fogle. At the request of the Congregation, Bishop Timon first made a clear statement in regard to the Church of St. Peter in Rochester, of which legal record was made later.

Buffalo, 18 September, 1849.

Know all men by these presents, That I, John Timon, Bishop of Buffalo, solemnly declare for myself and my successors in Office of Bishop that the Church of St. Peter in the City of Rochester shall be perpetually used as a Roman Catholic Church for the Germans. Also that five committeemen named annually by the Pastor appointed by the Bishop in order to aid said Pastor in temporal affairs and revenues according to the usages of the Church in this diocese, shall inspect the books, receipts, expenses, &c., every three months: and that all surplus revenue after discharging payment of the same order of obligations which the Congregation now has, v.g, support of Pastor, *Cathedraticum*, expense of Free School, Church expenses &c., shall be reserved for the use of the Church to add to the buildings, or to furnish the Church better, pay debts, &c., according to the decision of the Pastor & Committeemen with concurrence of majority of the Congregation and in conformity with the decrees of this diocese.

John Timon, Bp. of Buffalo.[2]

The declaration was evidently satisfactory, and September 17, 1849, Messrs. Zeug and Fogle with their respective wives conveyed the Church and property to the Bishop of

Buffalo in accordance with a resolution to that effect passed by the Congregation with only five dissenting votes.[3] The people then looked to the Bishop as their protector, and always sought their refuge in him "until a French German priest, who had created trouble in all the places in which he had officiated, brought their minds into a state of confusion and conspiracy."[4] Malcontents began an agitation for the legal incorporation of St. Peter's Church Society.

Past experience had proved the Church Incorporation Law then available to Catholics to be harmful, as its provisions were not in keeping with the constitution of the Catholic Church. This was the case despite the fact that the law, originally passed April 6, 1784, though usually dated under the Revised Statutes of April 5, 1813, was enacted as "An act to enable all Religious Denominations in this State to appoint trustees, who shall be a body corporate for the purpose of taking care of the temporalities of their respective congregations and for the purposes therein mentioned." The Preamble gives the motives that moved the legislators to frame the act which was passed,

> Whereas, by the thirty-eighth article of the Constitution of the State of New York, it is ordained, determined, and declared that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, should forever thereafter be allowed within this State to all mankind, provided that the liberty of conscience thereby granted should not be so construed as to excuse acts of licentiousness, or justify practices inconsistent with the peace or safety of the State; and whereas many of the churches congregations, and religious societies in this State (while it was a colony) have been put to great difficulties to support the public worship of God by reason of the illiberal and partial distribution of charters of incorporation to religious societies; and whereas it is the duty of all wise free, and virtuous governments to countenance and encourage virtue and religion, and remove every let or impediment to the growth and prosperity of the people, and to enable every religious denomination to provide for the decent and honorable support of Divine worship, agreeably to the dictates of conscience and judgment.

Nevertheless, a number of Protestant denominations found it impossible for them to incorporate on the basis of this Act. The Reformed Dutch Churches or Congregations could not avail themselves of the benefit intended by it without departing from the long established usage that vested the

management of the temporalities of congregations in the minister or ministers, the elders and deacons. When petitioned to accommodate them, the Legislature passed a law, March 7, 1788, "that the elders and deacons for the time being, and, if there shall be a minister or ministers, then the minister or ministers, and elders and deacons for the time being, of every Reformed Dutch Church or Congregation, shall be trustees for their respective congregations, and be respectively bodies corporate." The Protestant Episcopal Church also discovered that the Act of April 6, 1784, "directs a mode of incorporation which subjects it to a variety of difficulties, leaving the congregations not incorporated to the alternative of foregoing the benefit of incorporation or of submitting to an entire alteration and subversion of the usual and peculiar government of the respective congregations of said Church." Its Standing Committee of the Convocation petitioned the Legislature for a special incorporation law, which was then enacted. The Presbyterians in 1822 succeeded in obtaining a law according to which "the minister or ministers, and elders and deacons of every Reformed Presbyterian church, now or hereafter to be established within this State, shall be trustees of every such church and congregation." Similar concessions were made by the Legislature in 1839 to the Religious Society of Friends and to the Methodist Church.

All this was done in the spirit of the generous and liberal patriots who framed the law of 1784, but did not wish to coerce "the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession or worship." Therefore, they expressly provided in Section XI of the same act of 1784: "that nothing herein contained shall be construed, adjudged, or taken to abridge or affect the rights of conscience or private judgment, or in the least alter or change the religious constitution or governments of said churches, congregations, or societies, so far as respects or in any wise concerns the doctrine, principle, or worship thereof."[5] Any trustee system organized on this basis would have met with Bishop Timon's cordial approval. He himself declared: "I never was opposed to a fair trustee system. I would even bear with a bad one, were it administered by Catholics in a Catholic spirit . . . . For many years and in several of our councils I have advocated the expediency of a trustee system which Catholics could safely and conscien-

tiously use; but I have always felt as a great number of the most respectable Protestant members have felt with regard to the clause under which alone Catholics can be incorporated."[6] The difficulty was precisely as had been stated in the case of the Episcopalian Church. It left "the congregation not incorporated to the alternative of foregoing the benefit of incorporation or of submitting to an entire alteration and subversion of the usual and peculiar government of the respective congregation of the said Church." There was of course no obligation to incorporate even in the civil law at this time, and it is plain that Catholics sinned in making use of the *permissive privilege* granted by the civil law, if they did not make their action harmonize with their duty as Catholics.[7]

Nevertheless, the agitation for the incorporation of St. Peter's Church, Rochester, bore fruit in 1851. The Pastor, the Reverend Filemius, naturally refused the request of the plotters when they asked him to publish "the requisite notice of a meeting for the election of trustees pursuant to the Statute." However, they were not to be thus balked. A notice of the meeting was given by themselves on two successive Sundays, June 8 and 15, immediately after the morning service when the priest had left the Church, but before the congregation dispersed.[8] One hundred and two names were entered on the poll list of the election which took place at the appointed time, July 2, 1851.[9] However, two persons on the list did not vote at all, and at least ten later declared that they had been shamefully "misguided to cast votes under the pretext of removing the clergyman and getting another, or of showing how numerous the congregation was." Only thirty on the poll list were pewholders in a church that had a seating capacity of six hundred people on the ground floor and of more than one hundred in the gallery.[10] The trustee party evidently realized the weakness in the poll of votes, but they claimed a majority amongst the original organizers of the congregation. After an investigation only fifteen of the original sixty-five organizers could be found on their poll list while they claimed fifty of them.[11] Nevertheless, the trustees elected at this meeting had the following certificate of incorporation filed in the Monroe County Court House:

> We, Martin Selinger & John Wackerman, whose names are hereto subscribed, do hereby certify & State that on the Second day of

July A.D. one thousand eight hundred and fifty one at 7 o'clock p. m. of that day at the usual place of worship of the Church Congregation or Society of the German Catholic Church in the City of Rochester, County of Monroe & State of New York, an Election was held for Trustees of such Church Congregation or Society by the male members thereof, being of full age, that such Election was so held pursuant to a notice of the same twice published at such place, once on the Eighth day of June last and again on the fifteenth day of the same month, on Sunday when the Congregation was assembled for public Worship. We further certify that on the occasion of Such Election and before proceeding in the same we the undersigned were duly Elected chosen & appointed by said Members to preside at such Election, we also being members of such Society. And we further Certify that at such Election the names of the persons Elected to serve as Trustees for such Congregation or Society are Seven, that is to say Andrew Keefer, George Schraick, Henry Kundolf, Anthony Lerch, Barnett Hook, Joseph Schwab & John Wackerman, & we further certify mention and describe the name by which the said Trustees & their successors in office shall forever hereafter be known to be the name chosen & determined at such meeting by the said Electors, that is to say The Trustees of Saint Peter's Society. We further certify that Immediately after Such Election such trustees were divided by lot into three classes and that the Three Trustees last above named by such allotment composed the first class to hold such office one year and the two trustees next named before them composed the Second Class to so hold for two years and the two Trustees first above so named Composed the first class to hold such office Three years.

Witness our hands & seals at Rochester this Third day of July A.D. 1851.

GEORGE M. SELLINGER L. S.
JOHN WACKERMAN L. S.[12]

A written notice was then served upon their pastor, "informing him of the incorporation of the society and requiring him to surrender to the corporation the possession of the church edifice and grounds connected therewith." A similar notice had been served upon Bishop Timon. Both, however, refused to comply with the demand,[13] and were supported by the vast majority of the Congregation that formed "the Bishop's Party" in opposition to the Trustees Party, "called the Blacks by a nigger and his coadjutors."[14] This last phrase was used by the Trustees themselves for the benefit of the Reverend F. X. Krautbauer, later Bishop of Green Bay, who had been appointed the successor to Father Filemius in the pastorate of St. Peter's Church four months after the trustee

election had taken place. Though only ordained July 16, 1850, he did not allow himself to be intimidated by trustee Kondolf, who "ordered me out the first Sunday I was officiating as pastor in the name of the trustees, as they did not want a Jesuit."[15]

The trustee party had already begun a suit against Sebastian Zeug, Joseph Fogle, John Timon, and Rudolph Filemius.[16] Whilst the suit was pending, the rights of possession, custody, and control of the temporalities of the church accruing to the trustees by the act of incorporation were suspended until a judgment was obtained in their favor. Their interest in the property was carefully safeguarded by the $4000 bonds the pastor had to furnish as security.[17] However, the church building itself was not safe from the trustees who expected to gain something from the possession of the document that had been drawn up by the original organizers of the parish and placed in the cavity of the corner stone. On the night of the 12th and 13th of May, 1853, some "trustees with other gentlemen" waited in Lerch's grocery store until two o'clock in the morning when they proceeded to St. Peter's Church and with crow bars moved the corner stone so as to be able to reach into the cavity with their hands. As soon as Father Krautbauer saw what had been done, he obtained two experienced American masons who "examined the said stone and wall, inside and outside, and declared that they found the original wall and plaster." The stone had never been disturbed before. Members of the trustee party at first denied that they found any document, but at length they confessed that they had found pieces of paper. No doubt, they had hoped to discover that the organizers of the parish had excluded also the Bishop from the possession of the Church property "as long as the Church members were opposed to it, one to three." However, the very man who had drawn up the document testified that "the word Bishop was not mentioned in the document at all, but only Redemptorists." Father Krautbauer was, therefore, led to conclude: "This is the reason why the trustees destroyed the paper; it did not correspond with their expectations."[18]

This was not the only act of aggression committed by the trustees while the suit was pending. The very first two days of 1853, the adherents of the trustee party had tried literally to push themselves into possession of the church. The pro-

FRANCIS X. KRAUTBAUER, D. D.

Pastor of St. Peter's Church, 1851-1859.
Chaplain to the Milwaukee Mother-house of the School Sisters of Notre Dame, 1859-1875.
Bishop of Green Bay, Wis., 1875-1885.

tracted trials, that grew out of this disturbance, were brought to a close, January 20, 1853, in the Police Court, where Justice Moore imposed a nominal fine of $2.50 each upon seven of the trustee party.[19] Both before and after this the encroachments of this small minority were steadily resisted by the great majority that was determined to remain faithful to the discipline of their Church. At every church disturbance law suits and indictments for assault and battery became quite common and claimed the attention not only of the Police Court, but also of the County Court.[20] The County Judge could do nothing else than consider the pastor and the vast majority of the parish supporting him as the party in possession *de facto* as long as there was no judicial decision of the litigation at the bottom of all the trouble.[21] Consequently "several suits were there decided against the trustees, and one important suit, having been decided in their favor was carried to the Court of Appeals, the judgment reversed, and the trustees had to pay the costs."[22] Nevertheless, the trustees managed to hold their annual election year after year, and at times not without riot and violence.

On the anniversary of their incorporation, they organized their meeting for the election of trustees in the church yard and transacted this business there.[23] Three years later they were more fortunate. After they had assembled in the evening, July 2, 1855, a committee was sent to Father Krautbauer to ask for the key to the school room under the Church. This was refused them, but the Church meanwhile happened to be opened by the one in charge of the Church bell, and so they entered and took possession. The pastor, accompanied by the school teachers, came and ordered the intruders out. They refused to go and carried out the business of the meeting by electing three trustees. The membership of the party had shrunk considerably, as only forty-five votes were cast.[24] Yet they pretended to be electing trustees for St. Peter's Congregation which then numbered over four hundred families. The very chairman of the meeting had neglected his Easter duty for years; the same was true of his associates with very few exceptions. Among the forty-five voters were many whom the Pastor "did not know up to the date of the election, and who probably had not seen the inside of St. Peter's or of any other church of this city before."[25] The trustees admitted that their

adherents as well as they themselves were no longer pew-holders in the Church, but they differed from the Pastor in the explanation of the fact.[26] Father Krautbauer claimed that he had "advised them to take pews again and to let the church suit go on peaceably, if they would not consent to a settlement" outside of court, whereas "the trustee Kondolph advised the people publicy, on the platform of the Church, on two occasions, not to rent pews any more." Consequently, "those who kept pews were ashamed to keep them in their own names, but got them superscribed on the names of their wives." The trustees, however, accused him and his party of resorting to "assaults and violence . . . to thrust them out" of the pews. Father Krautbauer did not hesitate to admit: "I remember to have thrust out with my own hands two men, (one of them a trustee), on two occasions, as nobody else offered to do the business; but they were drunk and gave great scandal. And I think our Lord also would have taken a rope and driven them out in my place. Nobody has been driven out, who went in peaceably with the intention of worshipping. And such rude fellows, who make themselves possessed of the pews of helpless ladies, deserve it indeed." They had still less claim to membership in St. Peter's Church when the trustee party, or at least some of the members, organized schismatic worship of their own. For "many of their folks are in the habit of keeping service in Lerch's grocery store."[27] Although this was the character of the intruders, Father Krautbauer found it prudent to be quiet at the election, "especially when I saw the man, who had nearly twenty trials in the courts of this city alone, who broke the leg of one of his associates two weeks ago, and who had to be kept by force from laying hands on a quiet spectator."[28] Yet the very law, invoked by the trustee party for the act of incorporation, enacted "that no person belonging to any church congregation, or society, intended by the third section of this act, shall be entitled to vote at any election succeeding the first until he shall have been a stated attendant on divine worship in the said church, congregation, or society according to the usages thereof."[29] This did not trouble the trustees any. They claimed that "these men are Catholics in such sense as they were Catholics in their fatherland. There the priesthood ruled in things *spiritual*, not in things *temporal*. They are told that the laws of the country

of their adoption sanction the same principle, if the laws are appealed to. They have made the appeal—they became a body corporate under the law—they have brought their action to test the efficacy of the law. That action is still pending. When it is decided, we may then know which is mightier in rights of property—a council of priests or the Legislature of the State of New York."[30]

This was really current Know Nothing rhetoric. If these enemies of the Catholic Church needed any tutoring in their attacks upon the lawfully constituted authorities within the Church in the State of New York, they found it in the factional trustee party organized at St. Peter's Church, Rochester, as well as at St. Louis Church, Buffalo. This is clearly manifested by the action which they took when a Bill was pending before the Legislature at Albany in 1852 "to invest the Catholic Archbishop of New York and his successors, or any other bishop or minister in the State to hold in trust property which has been created or set apart for religious or charitable uses." The actual condition in the tenure of Church property throughout the state seemed to make the measure advisable in the judgment of the local authorities of the Catholic Church, as set forth in a circular issued by Archbishop Hughes to the Clergy and Laity, March 16, 1852;

> The Bishops of New York, Albany, and Buffalo are now legally the owners in *fee-simple* of nearly all the religious and charitable property existing within their respective ecclesiastical jurisdictions. The Catholics, for whose benefit this property is held, have no apprehensions as regards its security; but the bishops themselves feel it as an oppression to be the owners in *fee-simple* of such an amount of property; and it would be an additional security to the people as well as a relief to the prelates, or others circumstanced as they are, if some general law were passed by which it might be transmitted in trust to their successors without the necessity of providing against the contingencies which result from the uncertainties of life and of last wills and testaments.[31]

Although similar measures had been enacted in the Legislatures of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Illinois, and Kentucky, remonstrances against the passing of such a Bill were presented by the Malcontents in Buffalo and Rochester to the Legislature of New York State. The Petition from Rochester declared:

> The undersigned, inhabitants of the City of Rochester, without any designation of religion, take the liberty respectfully to remonstrate against the enactment of the law proposed to your honorable body by the Hon. Mr. O'Keefe, or any similar law, granting to the Catholic Archbishop or Catholic Bishops in the State of New York, revertible upon their successors in office, the right to hold real or personal estate, denominated or in any wise pertaining to church property, by gift, grant, devise, bequest, or otherwise, as being contrary to our liberal and free institutions, and being likely to deprive our Catholic fellow-citizens of that right to incorporate themselves into religious societies by granting such power to their higher clergy.[32]

As soon as it became known that such remonstrances had reached the Legislature of the State, Archbishop Hughes was approached by many individual Catholics for information on the advisability of petitioning the Legislature in favor of the measure. However, he did not think it necessary, as Catholics were only asking for what Protestants had obtained without any opposition from Catholics.

> The very circumstances of the case will make it apparent to the Legislature, that all Catholics in the State of New York, who are worthy of the name, desire, and would feel grateful for the passage of such a law, although they should not deem it more than they have a right to obtain. As for the pretended Catholics of Buffalo and Rochester, I know them well. They are under the misguidance of a few obscure chieftains of faction, whose consequence in their wards or townships would be annihilated if they did not propagate the idea among dupes more ignorant than themselves that their pastors are a corporation of scoundrels and their venerable Bishop a special and particular rogue. These chieftains may number in all about eighteen. Their dupes are I know not how many. They call themselves Catholics; but then the faith has departed from them, except as a shadowy remembrance which makes cowards of them still; so that they have not the courage openly to declare themselves Protestants. The Church would gain by their forsaking her; and their adhesion to any Protestant sect would be an acquisition not much to be boasted of. Whatever rights the laws have secured them are not to be interfered with by any law which should be passed for the protection of the rights of the great body of true Catholics throughout the State of New York. That their remonstrance abounds with falsehood, I am morally certain, although I have not seen its contents; but I know them so well—I have so many of their letters, proving that they hesitate at no falsehood which may serve their malignant purposes.[33]

The remonstrance from Rochester was not as bad as Archbishop Hughes imagined. This fact was emphasized by

B. Scofield in his communication to the public, but he became guilty of the very "sophistry and jesuitry" he charged against Archbishop Hughes. He could not understand what was plainly enough indicated by the Archbishop, how the Ordinaries as Corporations Sole would be relieved of the terrible worry arising from the uncertainties of their tenure of church property in *fee simple*. Again he could not understand that Archbishop Hughes met the objection evidently raised, that the action of the Legislature in creating the Ordinaries Corporations Sole meant the recognition of ecclesiastical officers on the part of the Legislature. In point of fact, it had recognized ecclesiastical officers over and over again:[34] "By the laws of the State, the Catholic Bishop of New York and his successors are recognized in one act as *ex-officio* President of the Board of Trustees of St. Patrick's Cathedral. In another act, the Catholic Bishop of New York, for the time being, and the Mayor of Brooklyn, for the time being, are *ex-officio* members in administering the trusts of the late Cornelius Heany, entitled the Brooklyn Benevolent Society."[35] B. Scofield jumped to the conclusion that the Archbishop "could see no difference between making him a Corporation Sole and an *ex-officio* President of a Board of Trustees." Under the circumstances, B. Scofield wrote in criticism of the Archbishop what he ought to have written of himself: "Such is the truly wonderful ratiocination of the Archbishop in his manifesto of advice. We have heard before of poetry run mad, but never supposed that logic, and especially that of an archbishop, was liable to a like infirmity." However, everything had to be bent by the Malcontents to the defence of the trustee system, discredited before by the bankruptcy of five trustee churches in New York,[36] and discredited at the time both in Buffalo and Rochester by the abuse of a right "conceeded to them by the State to the great detriment of religion and to the scandal of the faithful."[37] Although the great bulk of the Protestant people of the State had obtained special legislation in their favor according to their particular church discipline, the opposition of these "honest Catholic laymen" was "actuated by a sincere desire to preserve their republican rights, and at the same time to prevent the exercise of a dangerous power by the head of their church. They admire and hold to the doctrine with a steadfast faith that class legislation of all kinds

is wrong, and should be especially avoided in the case under consideration. They seek no prescriptive right for their church, but are well content to be placed on the same democratic footing of other religious bodies in matters pertaining to its temporal affairs."[38]

Although Archbishop Hughes believed it "hardly possible that the enlightened Legislature of New York can be at all imposed upon by such fractions of a faction,"[39] the Bill presented by Mr. O'Keefe did not become law. The Malcontents were thus encouraged to force the recognition of the lay trustee system, and in 1855, when Know Nothingism came into sufficient power, seventeen of their number helped the enemies of the Catholic Church who framed "a truly penal law to force Catholics to incorporate under a form which most Protestants have refused." Mr. Putnam from Buffalo, the Father of the Church Property Bill, showed its necessity "by presenting a petition which in view of its great importance should be printed," and his motion to that effect was adopted in the Senate.[40] Both Archbishop Hughes and Bishop Timon, who were attacked in the petition, proved it to be "a fiction in all its material parts, with a small sprinkling of truth in parts which are not material."[41] Beyond this the Archbishop would not go. "No remonstrance shall go forth from me against the contemplated legislation, nor shall I encourage anything of the kind in others. The matter is in the hands of the Senate and Assembly of New York. They are entirely, or nearly all Protestants; and Protestants have always boasted that they were in favor of the most unbounded civil and religious liberty. If it be their good pleasure in this instance, to refute their profession by their acts, be it so; but the glory or dishonor shall be theirs alone."[42] Know Nothings did not scruple incurring the dishonor, and April 9, 1855, passed an Act in relation to conveyances and devises of personal and real estate for religious purposes in the following terms:

> 1. No grant, conveyance, devise, or lease of personal or real estate to, nor any trust of such personal or real estate for the benefit of any person and his successor or successors in any ecclesiastical office, shall vest any estate or interest in such person or in his successor, and no such grant, conveyance, devise or lease to, or for any such person by the designation of any such office, shall vest any estate or interest in any successor of such person. But this section shall not

be deemed to admit the validity of any such grant, conveyance, devise or lease heretofore made.

2. No future grant, conveyance, devise, or lease of any real estate consecrated, dedicated, or appropriated, or intended to be consecrated, dedicated, or appropriated, to the purposes of religious worship, for the use of any congregation or society, shall vest any right, title or interest in any person or persons to whom such grant, conveyance, devise or lease may be made, unless the same shall be made to a corporation organized according to the provisions of the laws of this State, under the act entitled "An act to provide for the incorporation of religious societies," and the acts amendatory thereof, or under the act entitled "An act for the incorporation of societies to establish free churches," passed April 13, 1854. But nothing herein contained, shall prevent any such corporation from conveying such property on a *bona fide* sale thereof, under the direction of a court of competent jurisdiction to confer such authority, according to the laws of this State..

3. Any real estate of the description named in section second of this act, and which has been heretofore granted, devised, or demised, to any person or persons in any ecclesiastical office, or orders, by the designation of such office or orders, or otherwise, shall be deemed to be held in trust for the benefit of the congregation or society using the same, and shall, unless previously conveyed to a corporation, as provided in the last preceding section, upon the death of the person or persons in whom the legal title shall be vested at the time of the passage of this act, vest in the religious corporation formed by the congregation or religious society occupying and enjoying such real estate as aforesaid, provided such a corporation, organized according to the laws of this state, shall be in existence at the time of the decease of the person or persons holding the title thereto.

4. In the event such congregation or society shall not be incorporated as aforesaid, then, and in that case, the title of such real estate shall vest in the people of the State of New York, in the same manner and with the same effect as if the person holding the legal title thereto had died intestate, and without heirs capable of inheriting such real estate.

5. Whenever title to any real estate shall vest in the people of the State of New York, under and by virtue of the last preceding section, it shall be under the charge of the commissioners of the land office of the State of New York, and it shall be their duty, and they are hereby authorized, upon their being satisfied that the congregation which had used, occupied, or enjoyed such real estate for the purposes of religious worship, prior to the death of the person or persons on whose decease the title thereto vested in this state, has been duly incorporated, under and according to the provisions of the act first named in the second section of this act, and upon the production to them a certified copy of the recorded certificate of incorporation, under the hand and official seal of the clerk of the county in whose office the same is recorded, to grant and convey

such real estate, and all the right, title, and interest of the people of the State of New York, therein and thereto, to said corporation, which shall thereupon be vested with all the right, title, and interest which became vested in the state by virtue of the provisions of this act.

6. This act shall not be construed as repealing or in any way affecting chapter one hundred and eighty-four, passed April 17, 1839, entitled "An act in relation to trusts for the benefit of the meetings of the religious society of Friends;" provided that nothing in this provision, or in said chapter 184, shall authorize the vesting of the title of property appropriated or dedicated to religious worship, and belonging to the society of Friends, in other than lay trustees.

7. This act shall take effect immediately.[43]

The signers of the petition addressed to the Legislature were all from Buffalo, though some years later the *Rochester Democrat* claimed that the Church Property Bill was advocated by Catholics in Rochester, and that some of them visited Albany to urge its passage. There were not many Malcontents in Rochester at the time to favor the passage of the Bill, and the *Democrat* was pointedly challenged to find a dozen in a population of 15,000 or 20,000, who advocated Putnam's Church Property Bill.[44] Nevertheless, the passage of the Bill must have been hailed by the trustees and their adherents, forty-five in number, as a good sign of success in the termination of their suit. At all events, the trustees elected, imitating the Know Nothing orators in the Legislature, appealed to an argument least in keeping with the fundamental principles of Know Nothingism, precedents in the *foreign* fatherland. They claimed that "there the Priesthood ruled in things spiritual, not in things temporal." Father Krautbauer knew that the members of the trustee party came from the two German Provinces of Alsace and Lorraine in France, from Rheno-Bavaria, Rheno-Prussia, and Baden in Germany.[45] The Code Napoleon was in force in the four first provinces named, and this decreed that "the council of administration of a church shall watch over the preservation and the repair of the church, and administer the revenues. In parishes of more than five thousand population, there shall be nine councillors; the *Bishop* will name five and the Prefect four; in parishes of less than five thousand souls, there will be only five councillors; the *Bishop* will appoint three, the Prefect two. The *pastor* of the

church shall always, *ex-officio*, be the first member of the council; he may depute his *vicar* to fill his place. The council shall name the *marguilliers*. Vacancies that occur will be filled by a majority of the council; if they neglect this for one month, the *Bishop* must then fill the vacancy."[46] There was not the least shadow here of a trustee election or of the elimination of the clergy from the management of the temporalities of the churches. In Baden, the people had nothing whatever to say, as the Grand Duke had usurped the control of the temporalities, and yet even he appointed a priest as *Oberkirchenrath* in the ministry.[47]

If the trustees were thus mistaken in claiming that their adherents were Catholics in the same sense that they had been Catholics in the Fatherland in regard to the point at issue, they were not mistaken in thinking that the Church Tenure Bill would argue in their favor with a Judge, who failed to appreciate the liberal spirit of the original legislators in framing the very incorporation law invoked by the trustees party. Judge Selden himself confessed in his opinion of the case under litigation: "It is, no doubt, true that the provision of the statute providing for religious incorporations do conflict more or less with the usages and laws of the Roman Catholic Church; and it may be that, if the condition and the circumstances of this church, and its modes and usages had been brought to the notice of the Legislature at the time the law was enacted, its provisions would have been in some degree modified; but it will hardly be denied that, if there is a conflict between the rules and canons of the Roman Catholic Church and the laws of the State, the latter must prevail. The statute, it will be perceived, is entirely without exception and applies in its terms to *every religious society*. Besides the recent action of the Legislature in passing the Church Tenure Bill may be justly regarded in its spirit as a Legislative declaration of the applicability of the previous statute to this as well as all other churches." Judge Selden also maintained that those "who were opposed to the incorporation—as undoubtedly there were many—should, if the notice was sufficient, have appeared at the meeting and not only rejected the proceedings by their own votes, but objected to the votes of unqualified persons . . . This objection should have been made at the meeting, and cannot be taken now in the manner

in which it is presented here." The whole matter then hinged on the sufficiency of the notice. Judge Selden would not allow the unauthorized notice of the incorporation meeting even by a single member and against the wishes of a large majority to be insufficient in the terms of the statute, "which is entirely silent as to the necessity of any proceedings whatever prior to the giving of the notice." He did, however, have doubt about the sufficiency of the notice on the ground that "there was in this case no such absence of minister authorized, &c.," and so he ordered a reargument of the case.[48] This was done before Judge Welles, June 24, 1856. He gave his decision in favor of the trustees a year later.

> After much reflection and consideration, I have come to the following conclusions:
>
> 1. That the plaintiffs and the society, or persons they represent, are a legal body corporate, duly created and constituted in pursuance of the third section of the act entitled "an act to provide for the incorporation of religious societies", passed April 5th, 1813.
>
> 2. That the said plaintiffs as such trustees, being the managing agents and organs of said corporation, are capable of exercising all the powers enumerated in the fourth section of the said act.
>
> 3. That the real estate and property mentioned in the complaint is held by Bishop Timon in trust for said corporation. That the said real estate and property was purchased and acquired with funds contributed by individual members of said corporation with the express understanding and intention on their part, that the same should be forever held by said society, and that the same should never be placed beyond their control; and that having become incorporated according to law, they are entitled to have said real estate and property conveyed to the plaintiffs, their legally constituted trustees.
>
> A judgment must, therefore, be entered requiring said John Timon to convey the said real estate and property to the plaintiffs by a good and sufficient deed, with covenants against any acts done or suffered by him by which the same has been alienated or the title thereof encumbered or otherwise affected. That the Defendants or such of them as are possessed of the said real estate and property deliver the same to the plaintiffs, and that the said defendants be perpetually restrained from intermeddling with or controlling the said real estate and property, without the consent of the plaintiffs or their successors, and that the defendants, John Timon and Rudolph Filemius, pay the plaintiffs' costs of this action.
>
> The form of judgment to be entered herein to be settled by me on application of the plaintiffs on a notice to the defendants of eight days with a copy of the proposed judgment.
>
> HENRY WELLES.[49]

The attorney of the trustee party, E. A. Hopkins, took the occasion, furnished by the decision, to make a vicious attack upon the Catholic Church and especially upon the Catholic clergy under the cover of a pretended law report of the case.[50] Pushed hard by an able rejoinder from a Catholic pen, *Veritas*,[51] "the counsel for the people" enlisted the services of a kindred spirit, who wrote in his defence under the initials of A. J. E.,[52] continuing "the quiet, sly, determined effort to malign the Catholic Church."[53] He also met with a vigorous reply, and some results began to show. "The Protean adversary has learned how to write on a law report without introducing hundreds of irrevelant questions, all redolent of hatred to the Church, to which his clients belong, and of insult to our Catholic fellow-citizens. His silence *now* proves that he cannot defend the calumnious charges, which he made against the Catholic Church, its Popes, and its priesthood. More manly would it have been to say, 'I was wrong, I am sorry.' The insult and the error thus nobly repaired would then have been forgotten."[54] The communications of H. were, indeed, confined for a time "to one-sided statements or partial statements within the range of the subject at issue,"[55] but in the end, after rejecting the Catholic claim to interprete the law in the Revised Statutes by its original form as passed by the Legislature in 1784, this lawyer had to vent some of his theological spleen.

> The plaintiffs' attorney has the impression that the Catholic Church means the people, the whole body of the people embracing the Catholic Faith, that it is not the clergy, but the laity in the mighty mass, to whom the clergy are an appendage like an establishment to a watch. It is the watch that keeps the time, and the establishment goes along with it. This action is but the pointing of the hands to show the clergy the time of the day, and the plaintiffs' attorney thinks the clergy had better profit of it.
>
> Mr. Editor, I wonder what the Bishop thinks of my definition of the Catholic Church. It may be heresy in Rome, but it may gradually grow to be orthodox in the United States. I think the Catholic clergy in this country are destined to meet with many occurrences and events which shall bring to their minds this same notion I am now expressing about the meaning of the Catholic Church.
>
> Protestants and Native Americans may have their fears of the Catholic people—the plaintiffs' attorney does not share in such fears. He is not employed to have them. As their attorney, it is not his function. He admits the more ignorant of the Catholic

people may unduly subject themselves to their clergy. The more ignorant of the Protestant people may do the like towards their clergy. But the time is coming, and is beginning to arrive when the more intelligent of the Catholic people are to do their own thinking, using their own clergy as helps—not as masters—as aides —not as guides; and this number is increasing more rapidly than among Protestants.

This onward movement among the Catholic people in this country, the Catholic priests may dislike, but they cannot resist it.

Priests of every religion always yield to the necessities of their condition. The Catholic clergy will probably yield, but so tardily as not altogether to escape the contempt of a portion of mankind.[56]

Mr. E. A. Hopkins proved to be a false prophet. Nearly the whole congregation of St. Peter stood firmly by the Bishop and the Pastor in their persevering efforts to maintain what was right against the refractory trustees.

Father Krautbauer soon informed his anxious parishioners that "Bishop Timon has consulted several of the most prominent lawyers of the State, and Mr. Buchan has his papers ready for an appeal; for the law of 1813, upon which Justice Welles based his decision, in a certain paragraph says specifically that the law has no application in matters affecting the discipline of any religious denomination or society, certainly a very important point in favor of the defendants. I have tried to settle the difference between the prosecutors and the defendants, and to make peace in the distracted congregation with the purpose of building a larger church. It may be said to their honor that three of the trustees were willing to accept the proposed settlement and to make peace. Nobody would have suffered by it, but the attempt failed because of the bitter feeling against the Bishop and myself." The Trustees, however, claimed that "his intention was not to make peace, but that he wanted to get those that threw off the shakles of Romanism and Jesuitism back into the claws of a most miserable and despised priesthood. The Trustees wanted nothing but their rights, which are due to all men; we were and are willing to submit to the laws of the country, which we have adopted as our own, and be guided by them. We feel happy that we did come to a country where right prevails, and where the stronghold of Popery is broken."[57] When *Veritas* saw this communication, he dryly remarked: "The Protestant lawyer who writes puts in the mouth of *some* German trustees

language which, had they understood, they would have abhorred; otherwise even sensible Protestants would say they were more Protestant than decency permitted."[58]

In spite of their professed submission to civil law, the trustee party became guilty of another outrage which called forth a protest signed by 306 members of St. Peter's Church. More names would have been added to the document, if parishioners from the country had been given an opportunity to sign, and if a great many business men had not felt that they could not afford to have their names published. The protest itself explains the nature of the disturbance that occasioned it, and the measures of self-defence taken against any possible renewal of it.

> In pursuance of the riot and breaking in the door of St. Peter's Church on King Street by a rebellious party, as they call themselves, *the Blacks*, the members of the said church assembled *ex tempore* on the 20th inst., [January 1858], in the basement of said church, to express their sentiments respecting the measures and course pursued by the *Blacks*, and with the view of correcting falsehoods and misrepresentations of acts as spread through the public papers and otherwise against the real St. Peter's congregation. The meeting was called to order by Mr. Joseph Felix. Henry Heisel was appointed Chairman, Emeran Weber, Vice-President, Joseph Felix, Secretary, and Philip Zirn, Assistant Secretary.
>
> After a brief explanation by the Chairman of the object of the meeting, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:
>
> Whereas we, the undersigned, do form the actual German Roman Catholic congregation of St. Peter's Church on King Street; and
>
> Whereas we, the members of the said Church, took no part in the riot committed on the 19th instant; therefore
>
> Resolved, That we deplore from the bottom of our hearts and seriously disapprove the riot committed on King Street by a set of lawless men, Sabbath-breakers, who have long ceased to live and behave as Catholics.
>
> Resolved, That, although our number is four times greater than that of our opponents, we, nevertheless, did not want to employ force in defending our rights and those of our pastor, but followed the peaceable advice given by him, to avoid bloodshed, and because we yet place enough of confidence in our laws and courts to await justice and satisfaction.
>
> Resolved, That we hereby express our most heartfelt thanks to Mayor Keeler for his active assistance, also to the Chief of Police, Mr. Oviatt, and to Policemen, Messrs. Sheridan and Dunn, for their manly conduct, by which they effectually prevented another premeditated outrage from being committed.

Resolved, That we have full confidence in our Pastor, and that we are perfectly satisfied with him as a peace-loving and sober citizen, zealous pastor, father and friend of our children, and that we can comprehend the hatred of his antagonist only because the devil hates virtue.

Resolved, That we will defend our pastor at the cost of our lives against renewed aggressions of our enemies, and that it is our most anxious desire that he may remain with us in this time of tribulation.

Resolved, That if it should ever be the case that we should have to withdraw our confidence from him, we would have him recalled by the Bishop, according to the discipline of the Catholic Church in which we want to live and die, since we consider our priest, Rev. Father Krautbauer, as a father and not as a hireling.

Resolved, That we consider as the best, and will uphold the method of renting pews followed by our pastor and trustees elected by a majority of the congregation, and hereby declare null and void the renting of pews by the mob on the 19th instant.

Resolved, That we will select out of our midst a sufficient force to keep watch day and night both over our pastor and our church property as long as we deem it necessary.

Resolved, That, when a law of our State may be explained so as to enable a court to decide in favor of a minority against a majority, and thus dispossess both our pastor and ourselves, we will submit peaceably.

Resolved, That these our sentiments and resolutions be published in the public papers and elsewhere.[59]

These developments proved to be so satisfactory to Bishop Timon that he significantly entered in his Diary on the occasion of a visit to Father Krautbauer, January 24, 1858: "all right. Deo Gratias!" However, the trouble was not yet ended. During the following Summer thirty-five *Blacks* tried to institute a great number of suits against the trustees that had been elected by the great majority of the Congregation in order to collect damages of nearly $1600, but the attempt was a failure.[60] While Father Krautbauer, July 10, 1858, filed a notice in the County Clerk's Office, of an action in the Supreme Court "to foreclose a mortgage, date the 29th day of August, 1857 . . . . . .to secure the sum of three thousand and seventy Dollars and thirty-five cents for moneys advanced and expended . . . . in making improvements".[61] Trustee meeting minutes of Sts. Peter and Paul's Church note the sale of the Church for Hopkins' Judgment, July 29, 1858. That cost its Pastor $921.63. Finally, a judgment was given by default against Bishop Timon, who learned of it January 18, 1859.

This made him start early the next morning for Rochester, where he discovered surprising things according to the jottings in his Diary:

> See Krautbauer, on to Judge Buchan, evident intention to fix titles in hands of K—he speaks of his debt. I say that *all* that is just must be paid, but if the appeal be not reopened, and judgment by default be given for me, not against me, he must immediately make me a deed or transfer to me all his right to the property, he demurs, I tell him that, were he my brother, I would suspend him should he refuse. He agrees to do as I desire.

Bishop Timon, therefore, gave Father Krautbauer $250, February 1, 1859, "to pay Bishop and have judgment reversed." It took some time to accomplish this last thing. Meanwhile, the parish was reorganized. The work was done at a meeting of its members, legally convoked February 8, 1859, when the following resolutions were passed almost unanimously:

> Whereas we deeply deplore the spirit of malice and deceit with which a seceding portion of this parish has incorporated itself, and which has caused so much scandal throughout eight years; furthermore
>
> Whereas the Rt. Rev. Bishop never will recognize this incorporation; and finally
>
> Whereas the decision of Judge Welles shall be revoked, and thereby the incorporation shall be declared null and void at the next session of the General Term of the Supreme Court; therefore, be it resolved:
>
> 1. That St. Peter's Society shall be dissolved henceforth from today; the trustees, however, shall continue in their office till the first Monday in March.
>
> 2. That a new parish shall be formed and shall be known under the name of Sts. Peter and Paul's Church.
>
> 3. That, whoever should become and remain an active member of this parish shall live in communion with the Catholic Church, shall not belong to any secret society, and shall not lead a notoriously immoral life, shall contribute at least $10 within a year to the building fund of a new Church, and shall, in the future, contribute annually at least $4.00 in pew rent or offerings for the support of the Church.
>
> 4. That everybody shall sign these by-laws.
>
> 5. That whoever shall be excommunicated by the Church authorities shall also *ipso facto* cease to be a member of this parish, and shall lose all rights as a member.
>
> 6. That the Trustees shall be elected only from the active members of the parish, and only such as fulfil their duties as Catholics.

7. That only active members shall have a claim to a free school for their children and to free graves in the cemetery.

8. That the Trustees shall furnish the pastor each quarter with the parish accounts of receipts and expenditures, but shall furnish the Bishop the same once a year; the latter shall have the right to examine the account books and have them copied as often as he likes.

9. That the Trustees shall obtain the Bishop's consent for each expenditure over $300, but the pastor's consent for each expenditure over $25.

10. That the pastor shall *ex-officio* be present at all Trustee meetings in regard to church affairs, and shall have a right of absolute veto in regard to each resolution; and in case he shall fail to come to an agreement with the Trustees, the Bishop shall be the arbiter.

11. That the pastor shall have the right reserved to him to appoint the personnel for the choir, sacristy, and school, but in agreement with the Trustees; here also the Bishop shall be the arbiter in case of a conflict.

12. That all revenue of the church shall be expended only for the good of this church and parish.

13. That the by-laws shall be binding as long as neither Bishop nor the majority of the parish deem a change useful or necessary.

14. That the list for the signature of these by-laws shall be kept in the priest's house.

15. That the secretary of this meeting shall present to the Reverend Pastor a written notice of the election of the new parish.

16. That the meeting shall be adjourned *sine die*.[62]

One month after these resolutions were adopted, the litigation about the property came to an end in the Supreme Court. Bishop Timon again saw Father Krautbauer, March 4, 1859, "for reversal of judgment against me," and three days later the minutes of its General Term contain this statement on case No. 17: The Trustees of St. Peter's Society, Respondents *agst* John Timon, Sebastian Zeug, & others, appellants:

> This cause having been duly reached on the calendar and on reading and filing admission of due service of Notice, of the argument of the appeal in this action, and on motion of Mr. P. G. Buchan of counsel for appellants in this action, no one appearing to oppose,—
>
> *Ordered* that the judgment of the Special Term on this action be in all things reversed and the complaint of the respondents in this action be dismissed with costs of this appeal, and that default of last term be set aside.[63]

A few days later the reorganized parish proceeded to the election of trustees and the incorporation of the congregation,

SS. PETER AND PAUL'S CHURCH

Corner King and Maple Sts., razed by the Rochester and Pittsburgh R. R. to make room for a warehouse. This church took the place of St. Peter's Church, of which no picture was obtainable.

as the following certificate attests, which was recorded in the County Clerk's Office, March 14, 1859.

> We, Martin Heisel & Joseph Felix, the undersigned, two of the members of the Church hereafter mentioned, do hereby certify that on the tenth day of March in the year 1859 the male persons of full age belonging to a Church, in which divine worship is celebrated according to the rites of the Roman Catholic Church & not already incorporated, met at the place of public worship heretofore occupied by the said Church at the corner of King and East Maple Streets in the City of Rochester, in the County of Monroe, for the purpose of incorporating themselves, & did thereupon nominate the undersigned to preside at the election, receive the votes of the Electors, be the Judges of the qualification of such Electors & the officers, to return the names of the persons who by a plurality of voices should be elected to serve as trustees for said Church—& then and there said male members did proceed to elect by a plurality of voices Henry Heisel, Matthias Marks, George Merklinger, Aloysius D. Jesserer, Conrad Beier, Michael Wolf, John Bringman, Leonard Huck & Matthias Schuster as trustees of the said Church & said persons did also then and there determine by the like plurality of voices that the said trustees & their successors should forever after be & known by the name or title of "the Trustees of Saints Peter & Paul's Church.
>
> Witness our hands & seals this tenth day of March in the year 1859.
>
> MARTIN HEISEL L. S.
> JOSEPH FELIX L. S.[64]

Thus the incorporation of the former St. Peter's Society was treated as null and void from the very beginning by the members of Sts. Peter and Paul's Church Corporation. There was no fear that trouble might be renewed by the trustees of the reorganized parish, as the by-laws were purposely framed to make impossible its recurrence by paying due regard to the rights of the Bishop and Pastor as well as to those of the laity. One of the first acts of the trustees of Sts. Peter and Paul's Church was "to accept the following bills for freeing the Church property from the hand of the Reverend Pastor Krautbauer, and mostly paid in cash, as he is travelling away from here, and no longer remains the Pastor of this Parish."

Hopkins' judgment, July 29, 1858, for which the church was sold	$ 921.63
Interest till March 28, 1859	36.84
Mr. Buchan's Bill for the Trustees, 1858 & 1859	480.00
Interest for the same	7.75

Hopkins' case of appeal	50.56
John McMahon in Buffalo	112.00
Constable	2.88
[65]Total	$ 1,611.66

This was done unanimously, April 4, 1859. However, if Father Krautbauer's departure was intended to make it easier for the former Malcontents to be reconciled, it failed of its purpose in so far as there was organized the Christ Catholic St. Stephen's Congregation, of which the certificate of incorporation was filed, May 28, 1859. Although the Church was only in existence for a time, the document is of interest for the history of trusteeism.

> We, the undersigned, do certify that a meeting was held on the nineteenth day of May, A. D., 1859, of the male persons of full age belonging to & forming "the Christ Catholic Saint Stephen's Congregation" in the City of Rochester at their place of meeting for Religious Worship pursuant to notice as is required to be given by an act "Entitled an act for the Incorporation of Religious Societies" passed April 5th, 1813. And at that meeting so held as aforesaid, the undersigned members of said Congregation were duly elected by a majority of the members present at the Election to receive the votes of the Electors & to be Judges of the qualification of the Electors & the Officers, to return the names of the persons who by a majority of votes should be elected to serve as Trustees for said Congregation. And then & there said male members did proceed to elect & did elect by a majority of votes cast Francis Adelman, Anthony Blum, Jacob Stocklein, Peter Miller, John Dienes, Joseph Schwaab, & Peter Holz Trustees, which said Trustees so elected were classed as follows: Francis Adelman, Anthony Blum, Jacob Stocklein for three years; Peter Miller, John Dienes for two years; Joseph Schwaab & Peter Holz for one year.
>
> It was further determined & agreed at said meeting by a majority of votes cast by the said Electors that the name & title by which said Trustees & their Successors in office shall forever hereafter be called & known by the name and title of "The Christ Catholic Saint Stephen's Congregation in the City of Rochester.
>
> Witness our hands and Seals this 25th day of May in the year A. D. 1859.
>
> PETER MILLER L. S.
> JACOB BAUSCH L. S.[66]

This sore in the Catholic body was also healed after a few years. For, Bishop Timon was able to note, in his Diary, the practical end of this schism during his visit to Rochester, November 5, 1862: "Meet rebels of Old St. Peter's; pardon

two, take off Ex[communication]. Schwab was one, all present reconciled—only two absent hold out. *Deo Gratias.*"

The incorporation of Sts. Peter and Paul's Church was in no way due to the penal law of 1855, which was still unrepealed, although lawyers of eminence had pronounced it unconstitutional. Know Nothingism had fallen from power, but successive Legislatures turned a deaf ear to the Catholic appeal for relief from the penal law. The petitioners only asked them "to allow Catholics to incorporate under either of the forms permitted by 1, 2, 3 sections of the General Law, as it now stands in the Revised Statutes, accordingly as may be most in conformity with our Church discipline;" and as incorporations then would become common, the penal law of 1855 would be repealed. Yet Catholics would not ask for a law exclusively for themselves. A few Protestant churches still remained without the privilege of incorporating under any other than the 3rd section. Catholics then wished a law, which, in relieving them, would relieve also all—for example thus: "Be it enacted, &c., that male persons of any religious denomination or society may incorporate accordingly as may be most suitable to their discipline under either of the first three sections of an Act, &c."[67] The request was most reasonable, but nothing was done in the matter till 1862, when Senator Connolly successfully carried through the Senate the repeal of the Know Nothing Church Property Bill.[68] At the request of Archbishop Hughes, one of the ablest lawyers in New York, Charles O'Connor, drafted the present Catholic Church Incorporation law, which finally passed the Legislature March 25, 1863, as an "Act Supplementary to the act entitled An Act to provide for the incorporation of Religious Societies, passed April 5, 1813." This old law was amended by adding thereto the following provisions:

> 1. It shall be lawful for any Roman Catholic Church or congregation now or hereafter existing in this state, to be incorporated according to the provisions of this act; the Roman Catholic archbishop or bishop of the diocese in which such church may be erected or intended so to be, the vicar-general of such diocese, and the pastor of such church for the time being, respectively or a majority of them, may select and appoint two laymen, members of said church, and may, together with such laymen, sign a certificate in duplicate, showing the name and title by which they and their successors shall be known and distinguished as a body corporate by

virtue of this act, which certificate shall be duly acknowledged or approved in the same manner as conveyances of real estate, and one of such certificates shall be filed in the office of the Secretary of State, and the other in the office of the Clerk of the County, in which such church may be erected or intended so to be; and, thereupon, such church or congregation shall be a body corporate, by the name and title expressed in such certificate, and the said persons so signing the same shall be the trustees thereof. The successor of any such Archbishop, Bishop, Vicar-General, or Pastor, respectively, for the time being, shall, by virtue of his office, be the trustee of such church in the place of his predecessor; and such laymen shall hold their office respectively for one year, and whenever the office of any such layman shall become vacant by death, removal, resignation, or otherwise, his successor shall be appointed in the same manner as herein provided for his original selection.

2. The trustees of every such church or congregation, and their successors shall have all the powers and authority granted to the trustees of any church, congregation, or society, by the fourth section "Act to provide for the incorporation of Religious Societies," passed April fifth, eighteen hundred and thirteen, and shall also have power to fix or ascertain the salary to be paid to any pastor or assistant pastor of such church, but the whole real and personal estate of any such church, exclusive of the church edifice, parsonage and school houses, together with the land on which the same may be erected, and burial places, shall not exceed the annual value or income of three thousand dollars; but nothing therein contained shall be held or taken to repeal, alter, or impair the effect of chapter three hundred and sixty of the Laws of eighteen hundred and sixty.

3. The trustees of any church, incorporated under the acts, are required to exhibit, upon oath, to the Supreme Court in the judicial district in which the church is situated, once in three years, an inventory of all the estate, real and personal, belonging to such church, and of the annual income thereof, which inventory shall be filed in the office of the Clerk of the County, in which such building is situated.

4. Whenever any church, incorporated under this act, be dissolved by means of non-use or neglect to exercise any of the powers necessary for its preservation, or otherwise, the same may be reincorporated in the mode prescribed in this act within six years from the date of such dissolution, and thereupon all the property, real and personal, belonging to such dissolved corporation at the time of its dissolution shall vest in such new corporation.

5. All conveyances to any church incorporated under this act of any real estate heretofore appropriated to the use of such church, or the congregation thereof, or intended so to be, are hereby confirmed and declared valid and effectual.[67]

Chapter IX

WORKS OF MERCY

If, in the administration of his diocese, Bishop Timon met with unpleasantness in some matters, he found considerable compensation in the people's earnest co-operation with his efforts to care for Catholic Orphans. At Rochester the main source of revenue for this great work was still the Annual St. Patrick's Fair. The day was set aside for this noble charity from the very beginning of the institution's existence.[1] There was at times a parade of the Irish Benevolent Societies in full regalia, followed by a Mass and a panegyric in honor of St. Patrick, but hardly ever was there a banquet or anything else allowed to interfere with the financial success of the Orphan's Fair. This was so well understood that, when the Sisters of St. Mary's Hospital received $16.55 from different societies on that day in 1858, they gave "thanks for the charitable feeling manifested towards their institution; but, as they are aware that collections on that day are always appropriated to the Orphan Asylum, they think themselves in duty bound to hand over this sum received to said institution."[2]

The Orphans' Fairs, like the church festivals of that character were always managed by the Ladies, who gave various names to the enterprise. Sometimes it is called a Tea Party, or a Benefit, or a Festival, or simply a Fair. The time allotted to it varied from a single evening or an afternoon and evening to three or four days. At a long fair the doors opened the first day at 2 P. M., and thereafter at 10 A. M., with the price of admission at twelve cents, or a shilling, or fifteen cents. No uniform price of admission was fixed for the short festival.[3] Thus, in 1852, fifty cents was the charge, whereas, in 1863, the charge for admission was one dollar; in both cases the ticket of admission entitled the holder to refreshments.[4] Despite the high price in 1863, there were eight hundred present at the Orphans' Festival.[5] Both the longer and shorter entertainments were largely modelled on the same plan; there were always Refreshments and Fancy Tables. The managers

evidently understood the advantages of publicity to ensure good sales at either. Oysters, Coffee, Ice Cream, Fruit, and other delicacies of the season are nearly always advertised for sale as well as a large and splendid variety of Useful and Fancy Articles. This last feature is especially made known to advantage in 1855.

> A finer display of goods was never before presented. There are no commission goods offered, all are donations by the friends of the institution. The Ladies have contributed largely in the shape of needle work, some of which exhibits much taste and a vast amount of labor. A large share of the articles offered, while they are costly and elegant, are at the same time useful. Children's garments in endless variety, millinery and lace goods, quilts and table spreads, mats, rugs, chairs, and many articles make up the large collection. A large piece of needlework, executed by the orphans, attracted much attention. It is "Moses striking the Rock", and is a creditable piece of work. In the center of the Hall stands an elegant light buggy, built in the best style and finished in a superb manner. It was constructed by the journeymen in J. Cunningham's carriage factory—each of the numerous body of mechanics employed there contributing his share of the labor—and was presented by them to the Orphans. It will be disposed of by shares of one dollar each at the close of the Fair.[6]

Exceptionally large sums of money were now and then realized in the more extended Fairs. In 1853 and 1859, the proceeds amounted to nearly $3000.[7] The Civil War, during which the number of Catholic Orphans increased largely, apparently called forth even greater generosity from Catholics in spite of the hardships that the strained condition of finance entailed on them. According to one report in the papers, the Fair in 1861 brought "the largest sum ever realized from any Fair for charitable purposes in Rochester, $3250."[8] The maximum, however, was reached in 1864, when the net receipts totaled $5000.[9]

Another ordinary source of revenue was the Christmas collection. The Reverend Bernard O'Reilly, the founder of St. Patrick's Asylum, when Vicar General of the new diocese of Buffalo, gave notice that the Christmas collections in the Diocese were for the benefit of the Orphan Asylums, the collections in Rochester and east of Rochester for the Asylum in Rochester and collections to the west of Rochester for the Asylum in Buffalo.[10] The order was obeyed in practically all the churches of Rochester, as Orphans were admitted into the

JAMES CUNNINGHAM

Born in County Down, Ireland, Dec., 1815, Died in Rochester, N. Y., May 15, 1886. Leading manufacturer of fine vehicles in the United States and an exemplary Catholic layman, in whose honor his children founded a professorship at St. Bernard's Seminary.

Asylum from all parts of the city. Thus, in 1862, the Sister Superioress reported 66 Orphans in the institution: 30 from St. Patrick's parish, 20 from St. Mary's, 11 from the Immaculate Conception, 3 from St. Joseph's, 1 from St. Peter's, and 1 from St. Bridget's.[11]

There was also a regular income received from the State after 1850, when the Legislature passed a statute which authorized the schools kept in the incorporated Orphan Asylums of this State, outside of the City of New York, "to participate in the distribution of school monies in the same manner and to the same extent, in proportion to the number of children educated therein, as the common schools." Doubts later arose as to the proper construction of this act, and, June 7, 1867, two questions were elaborately argued before the Court: 1st. Whether the schools of incorporated Asylums are entitled to participate in the school monies raised annually by the Common Council for the Board of Education and in those received by the City from the State; 2d. If entitled to share in either fund or in both, how and in what proportion as the number of children taught therein? After the matter was argued, the Court reserved its decision until the following September. The appeal to the Court in the settlement of this matter apparently was not prompted by the spirit of criticism aroused in certain circles by the distribution of the State appropriation of $135,000, voted in the Legislature of 1867 towards the support of Orphan Asylums, Hospitals, Homes for the Friendless, and other charitable institutions. It is true that institutions under Catholic management had received the largest share of this money, and the fact occasioned a charge of sectarian partiality against the Legislature. A member of the Committee of Ways and Means, appointed from the Assembly in the Legislature of 1867, Mr. Roberts, happened also to be the Editor of the *Utica Herald;* this gave him an opportunity to give a telling refutation of the superficial charge.

> All recognized orphan asylums and all established hospitals are included, and monies are distributed in proportion to the number of orphans and patients cared for. No division is made between sects at all . . . If under such a rule, the Catholics receive for disbursement more than the Protestants, the result is not to be attributed to sectarian partiality. It is due to the marvellous organ-

ization, to the all comprehending charity, to the persistent and commendable business tact with which all Catholic institutions are conducted . . . Shall complaint be made because the former care for more orphans and patients than the latter? Then the complaint takes the form of an indictment that the latter do not maintain in this great State so many institutions and support so many wards of charity as do the former. Is there one among these critics who allege "sectarian partiality," that would deny to the Catholic orphan and the Catholic patient the same relief accorded to Protestants in the same situation? It is not to be believed.[13]

Nevertheless, that is precisely what had been done before in the Legislature of 1860 according to the testimony of a member from Buffalo, the Hon. H. B. Miller. He had tried to obtain some State aid for the Magdalen House of the Nuns of the Good Shepherd who consecrated their lives to the reformation of the fallen of their sex.

Early in the session I was entrusted by a gentleman largely interested in religious and charitable institutions with several items of a charitable nature, which he wished to get into one or the other of the appropriation bills. At the proper time I went to the Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, and solicited the insertion of the items in the General Appropriation Bill. I was informed by the Chairman that the Committee should retain all items for charity heretofore found in the Appropriation Bills, but, in consequence of the embarassed condition of the Treasury, they could not insert new items. I then relied on getting a portion of the amount inserted in the House, and succeeded in getting $4000 in the Annual Appropriation Bill for the Magdalen Society.

After the adjournment, I was taken to task by several members with attempting to swell the General Appropriation Bill, and that it was bad policy in the embarrassed condition of the Treasury. I then reminded them that they themselves had voted for the insertion of an item of $10 000 for the Home of the Friendless in New York, besides an item of $5000 which was inserted for a Brooklyn Institute. If these items were struck out and the Bill passed as it came from the Committee, I should not complain if the item I had inserted should go with it, but, while the others remained, mine should remain also. The Bill was not perfected at the first sitting, and, when it came up again, I was at the bedside of a sick child, and the item was struck out during my absence, which would not have succeeded had I been present.[14]

The logic of the situation did not escape a wide-awake Catholic who contrasted the elimination of all charities from this Bill, in which Catholic institutions could participate, with the generous liberality of the Bill towards Houses of Refuge,

Homes of the Friendless, Reformatories for Juvenile Delinquents, &c., "some of which are avowedly anti-Catholic, all of which refuse Liberty of worship to Catholics." Yet they were "the principal recipients of State aid—recipients of money drawn by taxes from the seven hundred thousand Catholics of this State." It was the underhandedness of the whole business that especially aroused indignation.

> Bad as were the Know Nothings, they had manliness enough to express their No-Popery spirit. Our present persecutors act the part of hypocrites, having liberty on their tongues and animosity in their hearts, excusing themselves at the same time by unblushing falsehoods. What is their excuse for their illiberal conduct? The State, they say, is embarassed. Well, if so much embarassed as not to be in a position to aid Asylums and Hospitals, why *add* to the list of appropriations *nearly double the amount thus abstracted from the above charities?* Was this to *save* the State? We cannot believe the State to be in so precarious a condition when we find it so *very liberal* to the following institutions:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Society for Juvenile Delinquents, New York | $24,000 |
> | Western House of Refuge, Rochester | 40,000 |
> | American Female Guardian Society, New York | 10,000 |
> | Homes of the Friendless (if we remember rightly) | 25,000 |
> | Colored Home, New York | 600 |
> | Baptist Church, at Alleghany Reservation | 800 |
> | Institute for the Blind, New York | 27,000 |
> | Institute for Deaf and Dumb, New York | 37,000 |

This made a total of $164,400 for institutions, "all of which are under the charge of Protestants, whilst not one cent can be spared for the sick poor and the orphan." Mr. Dorsheimer is reported to have said that this was the case "lest Catholics should have a share in the distribution of State charity." A Catholic writer could not withhold his indignation. "Shame upon the legislators who will let the orphan starve lest it might be brought up a Catholic, who neglect and frown upon the sickly child of God, because medicine and food may be administered by a Sister of Charity! There is no language strong enough to express such bigotry."[15] Mr. Dorsheimer of Buffalo was the State Treasurer whose explicit statements show still better his hostility to Catholics, as he "frankly confessed to a Protestant friend of his that he had aided in bringing about this most unjust discrimination . . . that he had found out that the Catholics had a large share in the distribution of Charity for Hospitals and Orphan Asylums; and we

do not want to help them." However, he and his kind had no hesitation in helping the Rochester Home of the Friendless to a share "in the anti-Catholic liberality of our late pious and exemplary Legislature. The 'Friendless' in that 'Home' are often Catholic. One rule of that *Charity* is, that no Catholic priest shall be allowed to visit in it. Poor Catholics dying there have several times sent for a priest; when he came, he was sternly refused access to the dying Christian who would have given worlds, if possible, to receive the last sacred helps of religion. The friends of the sufferer, in one instance, had to remove the patient *out of the 'Home'*, that the Priest might administer to her the last comforts of religion! This is only one of the State Charities."[16]

Evidently seven years wrought a great change in the attitude of the State Legislature to Catholic charities. The Civil War was an important factor in clearing the religious as well as the political atmosphere of the country; the Legislature of 1867 was, therefore, in a position to appreciate better than the Legislature of 1860 the justice of equal rights and privileges for Catholic as well as for Protestant citizens.

The growth of St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum in Rochester necessitated increased accommodations as early as 1847. What was done is well summarized in the statement of July 1, 1849: "To meet the increased wants of the Asylum, the Trustees during the past two years have made additions equal in extent to the former building, and erected an additional story to the entire structure. It is now a large and commodious building well adapted to promote the comfort and health of its inmates.[17] Towards the close of the Civil War more room was again needed, and the year 1865 saw the completion of a new wing to the Asylum. Meanwhile, a change had been effected in the management of the Institution. December 6, 1863, a resolution was adopted at a special meeting giving entire charge of the Asylum to the Sisters of Charity. Accordingly, the Pastor of St. Patrick's Church, the Reverend M. O'Brien, A. B. Hone, Thomas Flannery, Philip Little, and George Wilkin resigned. The resignations were accepted June 25, 1864, and Sisters of Charity were elected in their places.[18] The first financial report under the new management, February 1, 1864, to February 1, 1865, gives a good insight into the workings of the Asylum at the time.

Children supported during the year	140
In the institution at present date	89

Money Received

Fair March 17th	$5,000.07
Children from the City	1,517.74
Collected for building	1,715.50
From former Treasurer	567.68
St. Patrick's Christmas Collection	130.00
St. Peter's Christmas Collection	45.10
St. Bridget's Christmas Collection	38.00
St. Boniface's Christmas Collection	30.00
Donations	122.00
Sale of property	256.88
Rents	69.00
School	700.00
Half Orphans	400.00
Work by inmates of institution	21.00
Public School Fund	717.03
	200.00
	$11,560.25

Expended from Feb. 1st, 1864, to Feb. 1, 1865	
Orphan Boys in St. Joseph's Asylum, Buffalo	$2,615.15
On contract for building	288.00
Coal	7,300.00
Taxes	418.00
Interest on Flood's estate	60.00
Insurance	10.50
Plumbing	47.00
Cistern and repairs	131.30
	750.00
	$11,560.25[19]

The Report shows a division of funds at the disposal of the management for the support of orphan children between St. Patrick's Asylum at Rochester and St. Joseph's Boys' Asylum near Buffalo. St. Patrick's Asylum was exclusively for girls, and the Orphan boys were sent to St. Joseph's Asylum, but were supported there at the expense of the Rochester Institution. St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum, established in 1849, was then located upon a farm adjoining Holy Cross Cemetery on Limestone Hill.[20] Here an exemplary effort was made according to the Reverend Thomas Hines in his report of the work of the institution under his supervision.

Within the last few years great efforts have been made to perfect an institution so useful to society, and so dear to him who deigns to be called the *Father of the Orphan.* Ever striving in the direction impressed upon it, the Managers seek to combine instruction in the common branches of an English education with useful labors and with some trade, that will enable the poor orphans in after-life to gain more surely an honest living, and thus prevent them from becoming a burden to themselves or to their fellow citizens.

Hence according to their respective inclinations some boys, during certain hours of the day, are employed in agricultural labors to learn farming on a farm adjoining the cemetery; some apply themselves to the trade of shoemaker, of carpenter, of tailor, of blacksmith, of tanner, &c. The result will be found below. It astonishes no one that, in the first week beginning, the loss in some departments will be perhaps equal to the profit, but that loss is amply compensated by the instruction given to the poor orphans, and by the prospect of a bright and consoling future. In some years, when the present debts will have been paid, and the system attains its due maturity, it is hoped that then it will become nearly, perhaps wholly, self-supporting.

The report covered the time from January 1, 1857, to January 1, 1861. The expenses, including building, foods, clothing, &c., &c., amounted to $35,899.14; the receipts, comprising donations, collections, fairs, appropriations, &c., were $30,-637.64, leaving a debt of $5,261.50. The Receipts also included from the Rochester Board of Trustees $4254, the *pro rata* State appropriation of $2,859.81, and from the Commissioners of Emigration $280, besides

Profits from farm	$1,844.00
dairy	658.90
shoemaker department	98.00
blacksmith	102.00
tannery	23.00
wax candle department	12.00
tailoring	10.00
carpenter	55.00

The Managers of St. Patrick's Asylum paid only $40 a year for each orphan boy they kept at St. Joseph's asylum.[22] This left no margin for any profit as the sum included a year's food and clothing. In fact, maintenance at this rate was only possible because of the economical organization of the Asylum. The report itself states: "It will be evident to all that the low figure of $24 *per annum* for each orphan and their kind and pious guardians, the Sisters of St. Joseph, would not

suffice, were it not for the farm, to give them the plain, simple, yet well furnished and wholesome food under which they enjoy extraordinary health; and also that the low rate of $15 *per annum* for clothing would by no means suffice, were it not for the care and needle work of the Sisters who receive no compensation but the low allowance of $50 *per annum* for their own clothing and for all their expenses except food; the pay they expect is from God in a better world."[23] Under the circumstances, Father Hines could make an eloquent appeal for help to make up the deficit of $5000, a great part of which was for food that the farm was unable to furnish hitherto. The Rochester boys in St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum at the beginning of the year, 1862, comprised 8 from St. Patrick's, 7 from St. Mary's, 4 from St. Bridget's, and 5 from the Immaculate Conception.[24]

These figures evidently show that not all Catholic orphan boys of Rochester were to be found in the distant St. Joseph's Asylum. The fact apparently moved Father Early, who about ten years before had been in charge of St. Joseph's Asylum,[25] and now was pastor of St. Mary's Church, to make provision for the care of Catholic orphan boys in Rochester itself. Accordingly, in 1864, he purchased a three story brick building, No. 3 South St., facing Washington Square, and furnished it sufficiently to allow the opening of the asylum November 1, 1864. Three Sisters of St. Joseph were sent by Bishop Timon at the instance of Father Early to take charge of the establishment, and the first night of their arrival two little boys applied for admission. The first year twenty to thirty boys were received, ranging from five to ten years of age. The new Asylum was incorporated almost immediately after its foundation as St. Mary's Asylum for Orphan Boys.[26] A visitor to the new institution, as early as January 14, 1865, expressed his satisfaction with what he saw there.

> The house, though not yet fully supplied with the furniture required, is provided with nice beds for the boys, with food and fuel for the time being, and the little fellows seemed to be very happy and comfortable. In the school room they are taught all the English studies adapted to children of their age. They sing pretty hymns and patriotic songs with an evidence of good feeling that sets the heart of the spectator aglow and makes him rejoice that so many homeless lads have been made comfortable and placed on the road of usefulness in life. This orphan asylum will continue

> to receive boys as they are found neglected, and they will remain there to be instructed, and when of suitable age, they will be provided with homes where they can engage in respectable avocations to earn their livelihood. Such an institution commends itself to the public and bespeaks for it the attention of the benevolent and the assistance of the public authorities.[27]

A year later the number of orphans in the Asylum had increased to about seventy,[28] and the need of a location better adapted to its needs began to become manifest. The Asylum was, therefore, removed in the summer of 1867 to West End, where Halstead Hall had been purchased in the previous April with four and a half acres of ground, including the garden and orchard attached to the premises. The house needed few alterations, affording large school rooms, well ventilated dormitories and refectories, a comfortable parlor, and a pretty chapel. Soon a hundred and twenty boys were gathered there under the care of the Sisters of St. Joseph. The property was paid for within a few years, even though it received but one thousand dollars from the State during that time.[29] The people of Rochester, however, supported this noble work of benevolence with the same generosity they had shown in contributing to the aid of St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum for girls under the care of the Sisters of Charity.

Even before the establishment of St. Mary's Asylum for Orphan Boys, steps had been taken to provide ways and means for the erection of a German Catholic Orphan Asylum, though Bishop Timon had suggested but one Orphan Asylum for all Orphan Boys, whether of German or English-speaking parentage.[30] Some members of St. Joseph Church incorporated, April 23, 1863, under the title of "St. Joseph's German Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum of Rochester and Monroe County." The Trustees were Joseph Hoffman, John Groh, John Wegman, M. Weigel, Bernard Klemm, Louis Ernst, Roman Schlitzer, Vitus Sanderl, Joseph Schutte, John Soeder, B. Gommenginger, and E. Weigel.[31] Funds were then raised by monthly subscriptions and the usual concerts, fairs, tea parties, picnics, &c.[32] As early as the Spring of 1864, they were able to pay Dr. Jonah Brown $14,500 for forty acres of land on Hudson Street, just beyond the city limits. Thirty-four additional acres adjoining were bought from John F. Bush for $9,000.[33] At this time the Redemptorists were contemplating not only

the erection of an Orphan Asylum, but also of a College and of a Church in that section.[34] A part of the tract was soon laid out in lots, the sale of which resulted in the speedy development of that portion of the City of Rochester, with which the people readily became acquainted because the picnics for the benefit of St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum were always held there.[35] Thus a *Grand Volks Fest* was given at these grounds on Hudson Street, August 29, 1864, for which great things had been announced in the advertisement. "The entertainment will be a fine one, rich in amusement. There will be drawings for prizes, wheelbarrow race for a silver cup, free to all—office-holders in particular, a goat supper for the tailors, an entertainment by Myers' Minstrels, music by a brass band, refreshments for everybody, and a good time generally. A procession will leave Main and North Streets for the grounds at 9 A. M., and carriages will run from that point to the grounds through the day to carry those who would prefer to ride. The proceeds will go to the Asylum fund."[36] Although there was a long fair at the beginning of 1865 which yielded $3200, and another Grand Picnic on the Orphan Farm, Hudson Street, during the summer of the same year,[37] St. Joseph's Orphan Asylum was not actually established till 1866, and then in a small frame house on Andrews Street, near Franklin Street, into which only six orphans were received the first year.[38]

Outside of Rochester, orphan asylums had also been erected at Auburn and Canandaigua. The Orphan Asylum of the Holy Family at Auburn was incorporated July 21, 1853.[39] The next year the Sisters of St. Joseph came to Canandaigua, where, besides a free school and an Academy, they also opened an Orphan Asylum and a Home for poor girls of good character when out of work or overtaken by sickness.[40]

If such a Home was needed at Canandaigua, it was needed much more at Rochester, where the *Home for the Friendless* was under such bigoted management. Only a year or so after their establishment in St. Mary's Parish, where they had a free school, an Academy, and an industrial school in operation, the Sisters of Mercy contemplated the foundation of a House of Mercy precisely as a temporary home for women out of employment.[41] Bishop Timon even gave a lecture in Mary's Church, Sunday evening, March 13, 1859, for the benefit of

the House of Mercy, for which also a Ladies' Fair was held at Corinthian Hall the same year from the fifteenth to the eighteenth of August.[42] Apparently the plan was never realized, though the work contemplated was well looked after through the charity of Mother Hieronymo, the founder of St. Mary's Hospital, as soon as she was able to do so.

Possibly no factor was so powerful in disarming prejudice against Catholics in Rochester as the establishment of St. Mary's Hospital in September, 1857. Although the City of Rochester then had a population of 50,000, it had no hospital before that date except a temporary one in cholera times for patients stricken with that dread disease.[43] There had been a movement fostered by some gentlemen for the erection of a City Hospital on the site of the Buffalo Street Cemetery, the village burial ground in the early days of Rochester. The City even gave them the title to the ground, and years were occupied in removing the dead bodies to Mt. Hope Cemetery but nothing was done to assure the building of the projected institution.[44] Bishop Timon, finally, determined to establish a Catholic Hospital but there was so little enthusiasm for the project in Rochester that the few, whom the Bishop met, July 8, 1856, were dispirited. Little progress was made until September 6, 1857, when he called together a number of gentlemen at the residence of the Reverend Michael O'Brien, pastor of St. Patrick's Parish. The matter was discussed, and a committee, consisting of Dr. Thomas Bradley and Mr. Patrick Barry, was appointed to find a suitable site. In a communication to the *West End Journal,* Mr. Barry later informed its readers:

> Next day the Doctor and I started out on our work, we rode many miles in various directions. The first place visited was the property on which the Hospital stands. I was familiar with it—had passed almost daily for years, and it struck me at once as *the* place.
>
> We visited several places on both sides of the river and came back to the old barns at West End, and decided to recommend that place. We did so that very night, and the next day, if I am not mistaken, the property was purchased.[45]

The *Union and Advertiser* gave the people the news September 8, 1857: "Bishop Timon has purchased in the western part of the city, near what is known as the Bull's Head, a plot of ground upon which there are a couple of buildings,

with the view of establishing a hospital there." The buildings were two little, old, one-story stone stables, with a dilapidated woodshed between them.[46] The first payment on the property was made possible by a subscription that amounted to $1300.[47] Three Sisters of Charity were assigned from their fine hospital in Buffalo to the new foundation in Rochester. Mother Hieronymo, the Sister Servant, had the experience and the ability that was needed for conducting an institution without a fund or even a red cent to commence operations. However, she found generous cooperation in charitable ladies who gave donations of furniture, bedding, &c., and in charitable gentlemen who gave contributions of money. Thus, the Hospital was at least partially furnished, and opened for the reception of its first patient, September 15, 1857.[48] Ten days later Mother Hieronymo gave to the press her first advertisement of the *Rochester St. Mary's Hospital of the Sisters of Charity.* It reads:

> The Sisters of Charity have just opened a Hospital for the sick in the Stone Buildings, corner of Genesee and Brown Streets.
>
> The Institution shall ever be opened to the sick of all denominations or of none; no distinction will be made.—Patients who desire spiritual help from pastors of their belief shall have every facility afforded them to obtain this consolation.
>
> The Sisters are ever willing to admit the sick poor *gratis* as far as their means will permit; but they have no funds nor endowments, they can do but little at present except to give *gratis* their time and kindest attention; hence the charitable who may send a patient will please be responsible for their support.
>
> The necessary conditions will be made known at the Institution. No contageous diseases will be received. The Sisters will procure for their patients the best medical and surgical attendance in the city.[49]

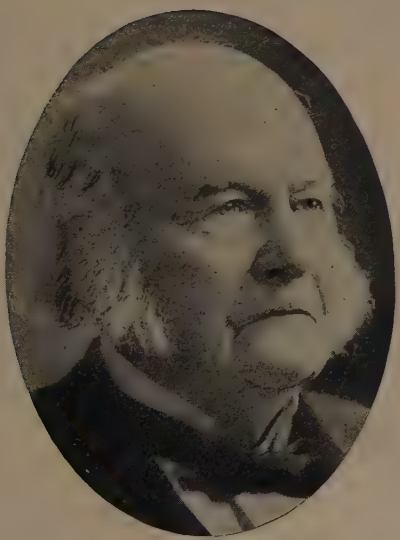
One paragraph of the advertisement must have struck deep into the consciences of the Managers of the *Home for the Friendless.* Father McEvoy, in his denunciation of their bigotry, had declared: "If these pious Protestant ladies and their abettors would look to the charitable Catholic Institutions of the country, for example, at New Orleans, St. Louis, Detroit, &c., they might receive a lesson of instruction on the right of conscience and respect for religious equality. In those institutions the conscience of no Protestant is interfered with. In the neighboring city of Buffalo, a Catholic Hospital

has been erected. It is conducted by Sisters of Charity. Every man's conscience is there respected. The writer of this can bear abundant testimony to the fact that he saw the Lutheran Minister there, attending to one of his flock at the solicitation of the Sister Servant of the institution."[50] They might have passed over the statement in silent scorn, but now they were brought face to face with the fact which they could not belie.

The small hospital was soon overcrowded; the Sisters themselves could only "find a spot in corners on which to spread a mattress for their own brief repose."[51] Within a short time a three story building of stone had to be erected in place of the old shed between the original two little stone buildings. Thus additional wards and private rooms were provided for sick patients. To defray the expense of building, a small sum was raised by subscription, and the remainder of the sum required was borrowed.[52] The improved condition of the Hospital is described by a Protestant visitor, deeply interested in the success of the enterprise, March 23, 1858:

> A few days since we paid a visit to the Hospital of the Sisters of Charity on the corner of Genesee and Buffalo Streets, and we must confess our surprise at the progress made by these ladies in establishing under disadvantageous circumstances an institution the need of which has long been felt in our city . . .
>
> On the first floor are the reception rooms, dispensary, wardrobes, &c. In the second story are the wards for women and children. In these there are upwards of twenty patients suffering from various ailments . . . The third floor is occupied exclusively as a man's ward. Here there are sixteen patients, three of whom are confined to their beds. We noticed several upon whom operations had been performed and who were getting along finely. Besides these wards, there are several private rooms. The Institution is capable of accommodating sixty patients. In addition to those treated in the Hospital, outside relief is afforded to a number who call daily for treatment and prescriptions.
>
> The Sisters have, in no instance, refused an application for admission to their hospital, and the outside relief afforded has been great. While it is known that the Sisters belong to a religious order, the members of which dedicate their lives to the care of suffering humanity, no distinction as to creed or condition is made in the admission or treatment of patients. No questions bearing upon religious belief are asked, and unless the patient voluntarily makes known his opinions in this respect, he may remain there for months and go out, without his views being known. Should he require the attendance of a clergyman of any denomination, he will be sent for, and every facility necessary and possible furnished. In this respect

MOTHER HIERONYMO
Founder of St. Mary's Hospital



E. M. MOORE, M. D.
First Surgeon

THOMAS BRADLEY, M. D.
First Physician

as in every other, the arrangement of the Hospital is unexceptionable. The Hospital has the advantage of the best surgical and medical skill, as the following names abundantly attest: Dr. E. M. Moore, Surgeon; Dr. Thomas Bradley, Physician. Dr. Keuchling attends upon the German patients.

These gentlemen are untiring in their attention upon the patients, and, what is more, their services are rendered *gratis*. How the Sisters manage to support their patients and supply the institution with necessaries without a fund to draw upon is a mystery to us. For a portion of their patients, a nominal sum is received, but the remainder pay not a farthing.[53]

Most of the poor patients were in reality chargeable to the County or to the City. Accordingly, Mother Hieronymo, during the session of the Board of Supervisors, in the fall of 1858, sent them a statement, giving the names of patients chargeable to the County who had been treated at the Hospital together with the length of time they had been there. The report was not presented as a claim, but to give the Board an opportunity to take whatever action they deemed proper in the matter. A committee, consisting of S. W. D. Moore, John Smyles, Wm. H. Bowman, was appointed to visit the Hospital and report to the Board. The report was presented and adopted by the Board, November 15, 1858.

The Committee, to whom was referred the statement of St. Mary's Hospital in relation to the number of indigent sick persons cared for the year past, would respectfully report that they visited this Hospital, located in the Eighth Ward of the city of Rochester, and found there sixty nine patients, most of whom were confined to their beds in the several wards of the house. The convalescents were walking about the grounds with a view of regaining their strength preparatory to leaving.

This Hospital is at present considerably limited in its accommodations. Two small stone buildings, built originally as barns, having been connected together and judiciously arranged into sick wards and other necessary apartments—the whole forming a comfortable and cheerful asylum for the sick and distressed poor. There is, however, in process of erection and nearly enclosed a large stone building, connected with the present structure that, when completed, will render the whole a perfect, large, and well ordered Hospital. Your Committee found everything about the establishment scrupulously neat and well ordered. The calm quietude, so essential to the sick, prevades the whole house.

The Sister in charge, we were informed, founded and has so far forwarded this benign enterprise by charities obtained through her

own indomitable energy—this being the fourth of a like character established by this extraordinary woman.

She is a true Samaritan indeed. A life devoted in administering to the sick and distressed on a scale of benevolence almost fabulous—no mercenary promptings bring about such results. A higher and holier impulse, emanating from loftier and sublimer motives, cluster around the head and heart of such a person.

This institution admits any sick persons (except in infectious diseases) who apply for admission, if the attending physician pronounces the case curable. They remain under the care and nursing of the Superior and her assistants until restored to health. Those able to pay are charged a reasonable amount. There were but two paying patients at the time of our visit. Doctors Thos. Bradley and E. M. Moore visit the Hospital daily, and prescribe for the invalids without fee or reward.

All denominations or creeds are admitted, no religious services performed in the house, no religious discussions allowed in the wards. If any desire the consolations of religion, they can have any one their choice may dictate to attend them.[54]

At the beginning of 1859, the Sisters of Charity presented a similar statement, through Alderman Howe, to the Common Council as had been presented to the Board of Supervisors. It gave the names of patients that had been treated in St. Mary's Hospital, and were chargeable to the City. The total number of patients so treated was 128, and the total time of treatment was 221 months, 2 weeks, and 6 days. The report in this instance was again made to give the Common Council an opportunity to adopt any action they might deem proper under the circumstances. It was referred to the Poor Committee.[55] About the same time, the Hon. S. G. Andrews and Collector Bromely petitioned the Secretary of the Treasury to authorize a Marine Department in the Hospital of the Sisters of Charity in Rochester. The petition was granted, and the contract concluded with St. Mary's Hospital was approved at Washington. This meant that all disabled Marines entitled to relief were to be received and treated in the Marine Department of the Sisters' Hospital as in the Marine Hospitals of the large sea ports. Quite a number of such patients had already been received and treated by the Sisters in their Hospital.[56]

Public money was doubly welcome to the Hospital in this period of difficult beginnings. Nevertheless, the main financial support of the enterprise was local Catholic charity, which

had various occasions to manifest itself. Thus, Bishop Timon gave a lecture for the Benefit of the new hospital in Corinthian Hall, January 24, 1858.[57] A May Festival produced $332.64, for which the Sisters gave grateful thanks, June 8, 1858.[58] A Grand Sacred Concert at St. Mary's Church, Thanksgiving Evening, November 18, 1858, with tickets of admission at fifty cents, only brought gross receipts of $235.75. The date was an unfortunate choice, as there was a lecture in the Athenaeum course that same night.[59] A wider interest in the Hospital was attested by a New Year's gift of $25 from the Rochester Lodge of the Sons of Malta; the Sisters in the acknowledgment of the donation assured the members of the Society that "the gift was very acceptable and would be sacredly applied to the objects of the Hospital which is devoted to the relief of the sick and suffering."[60] They had followed the good example given the previous summer by the journeymen shoemakers, whose treasurer, William Roach, had handed the Sisters a donation of five dollars.[61] Two prominent gentlemen also made substantial donations at the beginning of 1859. It occasioned the publication of the following card in the public press:

> The Sisters of Charity gratefully acknowledge the receipt of $100 from Geo. Ellwanger, Esq., and $100 from P. Barry, Esq., donated toward establishing and sustaining the Hospital of St. Mary's under their charge. Coming at a period in the progress when greatly needed to apply on existing obligations assumed in the erection of the Hospital edifice, these offerings are doubly welcome, and the Sisters take this method of publicly expressing their gratitude to the gentlemen named, the latter of whom has repeatedly by substantial favors manifested his interest in the success of the enterprise.[62]

Improvements in the Hospital during the past year necessitated a large outlay of money. The lots adjoining the original property were purchased, and the main hospital building, 50 by 90 feet, three stories high, of Bull's Head cut stone, had been erected in front of the original structures, hiding them from view.[63] A little outside help was given even in the construction of the building. Vanprausen & Derby donated 1000 brick, and the artisans in four foundries furnished the large quantity of castings, such as window weights, &c., required in the building. They subscribed and paid the proprietors the amount of the bills, $30 to French & Co., $30 to

Kidd, $11 to Bennett, and $6 to Cheney.[64] After the completion of the building, some help was also given in the summer of 1859 to furnish the new addition to the Hospital. There were various cash donations in sums amounting altogether to $178.83. Five private rooms, each 11 by 17 feet, with ceiling 12 feet high, were furnished by generous Catholic women: No. 1 by Mrs. Andrew Brennan; No. 3 by Mrs. Patrick Barry; No. 5 by Mrs. Wm. McCarthy, Mrs. A. Hone, and Miss Kearney; No. 7 by Mrs. James Tone, Mrs. James McMannus, Mrs. James O'Donohue, and Mrs. John Graham; No. 6 by Mrs. James Cunningham. The Parlor, 17 by 20 feet, with ceiling also 12 feet high, was furnished by Mrs. Owen Gaffney. There were also donations of furniture, bedding, hospital supplies, silverware, kitchen ware, and even a donation of a cow.[65] The animal was sent by Jeremiah Kavanaugh from Buffalo, where he had once been a patient in the Sisters' Hospital under the care of Sister Hieronymo. He had been brought to the Hospital to have a fractured limb amputated. As he was too weak from the loss of blood to undergo the operation at once, it was postponed to give the patient a chance to gain sufficient strength. By careful nursing the fractured limb improved so much that Dr. Hamilton concluded that there was a chance to save it when he called to cut it off. *It was saved,* and Jeremiah Cavanaugh never forgot the debt of gratitude, as he proved repeatedly by substantial gifts to his benefactress, or rather to the important work under her charge.[66] Nearly all the names in the list of donations were Catholic, and a Protestant gentleman did not conceal his disappointment to find such to be the case.

> St. Mary's Hospital is not a sectarian Institution, nor are any of its inmates required to conform to any manner of worship. All are free to call to their aid in spiritual matters such clergymen or laymen as they choose or none at all. In fact, the Hospital is merely a benevolent institution without sectarian bias. Protestants as well as Catholics have shared in its benefits, and peculiar favor has been shown to neither. Both have been served alike; and we did hope that, as St. Mary's is the only Hospital of which our city can boast, Protestants as well as Catholics would feel disposed to aid in its support. And we cannot believe that the case is otherwise. There is surely enough liberality in Rochester to sustain such an institution in the hands of the Sisters of Charity, the business of whose lives is to nourish the sick and afflicted without earthly fee or

reward, and we trust that we shall not be mistaken in this belief, we will say that the Hospital will be open today and the remainder of the week to such charitable persons as may see fit to contribute their mite to so deserving an object.[67]

The supplemental list of donations published towards the end of July did not show any more than five dollars from one of the wealthiest Protestants of Rochester. This was the sole Protestant donation in response to the eloquent appeal. This may have been due to the fact that the City Hospital, finally, began building in the fall; there must have been some immediate preparation in the summer. Citizens were called upon to make good the subscriptions they had promised years ago when there was no hospital in Rochester. Yet these subscriptions could not have been very heavy, as they did not amount to more than seven or eight thousand dollars together with the donations from the City and the State. The same Protestant gentleman, who made the appeal for Protestant contributions in behalf of St. Mary's Hospital, evidently believed that Protestantism was at the bottom of the activity in favor of the establishment of the City Hospital. He refused to allow the reasonableness of any opposition on the score of the Roman Catholic faith professed by the Sisters in charge of St. Mary's Hospital.

It is not a sectarian institution which dictates to the patient what clergyman shall minister to him in his affliction, or who shall utter a prayer for his soul when it has burst its earthly bonds. It is as free from this charge as any institution in the land. True, these women, who silently walk from bed to bed by night and by day, watching over the sick with a devotion unceasing, are Roman Catholics. What of that? Do not the Protestants everywhere employ Roman Catholic females as domestics, as nurses, and thus make them the companions and teachers, in one sense, of their children? Did any Protestant ever think that duties of the kitchen, of the nursery, of the sick room were unfit to be performed by a Catholic female, if she performed them well? We think not. Then what does this sole objection to the Sisters' Hospital amount to? Just nothing at all.

But there may be those who feel that it is a duty of the Protestant portion of the community to establish hospitals that may be considered Protestant institutions—although a *City* Hospital could not really be so—whenever there are similar institutions conducted by the Sisters of Charity, that it may not be said to the disgrace of Protestantism that Catholicism takes the lead in works of mercy and benevolence. Doubtless this is the feeling that now underlies

and actuates the present movement for a City Hospital, and it is certainly one with which we as Protestants sympathize. But believing as we do that the effort will prove abortive in practice, we prefer that it should not be made. If the City Hospital is established and becomes, as we think it must, a puny, sickly concern, without patronage, and hence without character, while its rival flourishes, then will Protestantism be disgraced indeed, and Protestants may well wish that they had not undertaken the task.

Now we think some reader, who differs from us, has already remarked that we assume too much—that we do not *know* that a City Hospital will prove what we predict for it—a failure. Perhaps we do not *know* it, but, reasoning from analogous cases, we have a right to assume it. Elsewhere, so far as we can learn, such has been the result, and we see no reason to except Rochester from the rule. Take the City of Buffalo for instance. A City Hospital was erected there a year or two ago with an outlay of over $30,000; and a fine building it is with all the appurtenances that such an institution requires and as able a corps of medical attendants as any Hospital in America perhaps. And what does it amount to? We paid a visit to it the other day, and found its spacious wards mostly deserted and bearing no marks of ever having been tenanted. On inquiry, we learned from the Resident Physician that no more than 25 patients had ever been in the institution at one time, and now there are but seventeen. Everybody in this institution is hired, and matrons, cooks, and waiters acted as though they had nothing to do but to wait for pay day. This is the Buffalo City Hospital with all the advantages that city can afford—a commercial city claiming a population double that of Rochester,—and it had all advantages the Rochester Hospital can hope for, and yet does not average fifteen patients. Now there is a Hospital of the Sisters of Charity in Buffalo, in the sight of the City Hospital, occupying in part some old barracks, certainly not so eligible quarters by any means as those of its competitors, and what did we find there. All the evidence of prosperity in every department, and 170 patients, including all ages and people of every religious creed. A more striking contrast never met our eyes than was exhibited in those Hospitals.

We have in Rochester a Charity Hospital, which is better adapted to our wants than is the one in Buffalo to the wants of that city, and its management is superior to most of its class. We cannot hope for a better City Hospital than Buffalo has. Then how can we expect a more favorable result than has been attained there?

We fear that this City Hospital, with its corps of physicians, nurses, and attendants, is to become an additional burden to its citizens, who are to be taxed for its support—taxed either by calls in the shape of donations or by legislation—it is the same thing in the end. Have we not enough such pensioners upon public and private charity? And had we not better sustain those we have with more liberality and more energy than thus divide our efforts? The outlay in real estate and the improvements of this Hospital will

certainly be more than $25,000; the interest of which sum added to the annual salaries and expenses of this Hospital would sustain the Industrial School, Orphan Asylums, and perhaps more of our charitable institutions.[68]

If the public at large, outside of Catholic circles, failed to show a substantial interest in the development of St. Mary's Hospital, the Sisters were able to claim the attention of the public local authorities of the City and County. In October, 1859, the Supervisors received an invitation to visit St. Mary's Hospital when they were on their tour visiting public institutions. They accepted the invitation, and drove in carriages from the County House to the Hospital, where they were received by the Sisters in charge and shown the improvements in all departments since the Committee made its report to the Board of Supervisors the year previous.[69] The Hospital was now able to accommodate nearly two hundred patients, and it was to the interest of the City and County to be thoroughly conversant with its advantages, as the sick poor in the City and County could be treated cheaper there than at any other place. In fact, there were many poor patients in St. Mary's Hospital at the time that were or should have been County charges. This consideration prompted Alderman Butler, in the following Spring to move, in the Common Council, that Dr. Thomas Bradley be appointed as City Physician to St. Mary's Hospital at City expense, but the motion was lost.[70] Later, however, Alderman Stone moved "that the Poor Committee visit St. Mary's Hospital monthly to inquire what patients are there chargeable to the City, report the same, and give the Sisters in charge vouchers to pay for the care of the same. He thought that this was necessary as the County Poor Authorities took a similar course, and of course crowded all patients they could upon the city . . . The resolution was adopted."[71]

Whatever was received from City or County was sorely needed by St. Mary's Hospital, which was then struggling under the large indebtedness incurred in the construction of the new hospital building, especially as Mother Hieronymo was disappointed in not receiving an expected appropriation from the State Legislature which before had voted thousands and thousands to the Hospitals in Buffalo, Troy, New York, &c.[72] Under the circumstances, the proceeds of a Floral and

Strawberry Festival, held in Corinthian Hall, June 12-16, 1860, amounting to $1571.94, with additional donations totaling $41, were most acceptable to the Sisters.[73] The sum was almost cancelled again by the unexpected loss of money through the action of the Board of Supervisors, who cut down a Bill of $1700, presented by the Sisters of Charity against the County for the support and care of the sick County poor, to $200, although the compensation asked was fixed at the low rate of seventy cents per week, the amount paid for paupers at the County house.[74] Temporary relief came to the Hospital from the proceeds of a Grand Concert on Sunday evening, January 6, 1861, in St. Patrick's Church, [75] but in June the Sisters informed the charitable public that "owing to the indebtedness of the Hospital property and embarrassment caused by the failure of the County last year to allow the bill for taking care of the Poor Sick who were not a city charge, the Sisters of the Hospital find themselves without funds to meet the current expenses of their valuable institution."[76] A statement, published by Mother Hieronymo, gave proof of what wonderful work had already been accomplished by the Hospital.[77]

> . . . The God of mercy prompted a charitable public to generous help, by which, and by the pro rata division of State appropriations for Hospitals, (for the Sisters never got any special appropriation), a noble building, with all the appurtenances of a first rate hospital, now gives aid, comfort, and through the blessing of God, even life to many sick and distressed persons. Since the opening of the hospital, 2139 patients have been treated in it. Of that number, 146 died; 1863 were restored to health; 130 remain. Through various donations and the *pro rata* distributions of the State Legislature, the first debt was nearly paid; the cost of erecting the building, of furnishing it, and of supporting the sick was so nearly met that, at the close of last year, only $7900 were due.
>
> The following is a statement of the indebtedness at the present time:

Bread	$1,000.00
Meat	2,260.00
Groceries	517.21
Hardware	110.25
Medicine	104.21
Dry Goods	900.00
Coal	143.00
Lumber	274.68
Furniture	50.00

Mortgage	3,700.00
Insurance	60.00
Interest	259.00
Total	$9,378.35

Mother Hieronymo appealed then to friends of the Hospital for aid to meet its pressing obligations, and the physicians and surgeons, attached to St. Mary's Hospital, Drs. Thomas Bradley, E. M. Moore, Theodore F. Hall, and Frederick Douglas, published a card over their signatures to "earnestly call the attention of our citizens to the wants of the sick under the care of the Sisters of Charity. Their fidelity and economy render them the best almoners of public bounty." The public were also given to understand that practically all given to the Hospital went to enlarge the buildings, improve the grounds, or comfort the sick, as the rules of the Order permitted the Sisters to expend only $50 *per annum* each for clothing and other necessaries.[78] Collectors were appointed to canvass the twelve wards of the City: 1st Ward, Mrs. John E. Watters, Mrs. Robert E. Sherlock; 2nd Ward, Mrs. Thomas Bradley, Mrs. P. Quinn, and Mrs. D. McGarry; 3rd Ward, Mrs. Wm. Moran, Mrs. Heaphy; 4th Ward, Mrs. James McManus, Mrs. James O'Donoghue; 5th Ward, Mrs. Bishop, Mrs. Joseph Cochrane, Mrs. Smith; 6th Ward, Mrs. Tone, Mrs. Andrew Brennan; 7th Ward, Mrs. McRoden, Miss McTaggart; 8th Ward, Mrs. Wm. Purcell, Mrs. James Cunningham; 9th Ward, Mrs. J. Sheridan, Mrs. C. J. Ryan, Miss Kate Kavanaugh; 10th Ward, Mrs. W. Wilson, Miss Shute; 11th Ward, Mrs. M. Wahl, Mrs. Lester, Mrs. J. Madden; 12th Ward, Mrs. McGivern, Miss Mary Ann Moore, Miss Mary Jane Quinn.[79] The collection yielded $1497.13. The sum thus put at the disposition of the Sisters to meet their most pressing obligations was further increased by the City authorities, who paid St. Mary's Hospital, July 20, 1861, $879, the amount of the account due for the City patients under their charge.[80] The total sum collected was not large, as the times were hard, but the outbreak of the Civil War in April brought even harder times than had been felt on the eve of the great conflict between North and South.

Even before this, it had become necessary to find ways and means for the relief of distress amongst the poor and

needy Catholics outside of Catholic Institutions of charity. Many Catholic men provided against want from sickness and death by entering into mutual sick and death benefit societies, of which there were quite a number in German Catholic parishes under the patronage of various saints, St. Joseph, St. Paul, St. Peter, St. Alphonsus and St. Boniface.[81] In the Irish Catholic parishes of St. Mary's and St. Bridget's, the same sort of a society was also organized, St. Mary's Benevolent Society and St. Francis's Young Men's Mutual Aid Society respectively.[82] Conferences of St. Vincent de Paul Society were established at St. Patrick's, St. Mary's, and at the Immaculate Conception churches to relieve others that were less provident against want. Their object was to succour the sick and the poor, especially the widow and the orphan. The report of the proceedings of the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, St. Patrick's Conference, from January 1, 1856, to January 1, 1857, is typical of the good accomplished by such organizations.

This Society, which commenced its labors in January, 1856, with only ten men, has now the consolation, under the blessing of kind Providence, to count seventy-five members. Ten of these are honorary, and forty are active members who visit the poor.

Forty families, of from three to six persons in each family, during the winter, and fifteen families, during the summer, have received relief from the Society every week.

In presenting this, their first annual report, the Society would most respectfully return their thanks in the name of the poor to the congregation and others who aided them in their mission of love. The past year's experience shows how much good can be done by the Society. Their benefactors will, they trust, feel satisfied that the members have not been remiss in the discharge of their duties. The destitution which, in their visits, they have witnessed existing around them, and which their limited means have not permitted them to redress as fully as they could have wished, emboldens them to solicit, with renewed importunity, the co-operation of the good and charitable in this community, to whom this report is respectfully submitted.

RECEIPTS

January, 1856. Amount of cash from members	$ 20.66
February 1856	23.10
March, 1856	17.63
April, 1856	13.53
April, 1856. Collection in Church	24.18
May, 1856. Amount of cash from members	11.00

June, 1856	9.00
July, 1856	9.53
August, 1856	9.11
September, 1856	15.13
October, 1856	10.12
November, 1856	11.21
December, 1856	17.81
January, 1857	17.81
Rt. Rev. Bishop Timon's Lecture	82.00
Rev. Mr. O'Brien, cash	10.00
Rev. Mr. Casey, cash	1.00
	$302.82

AMOUNT OF DONATIONS

John Waters, groceries	2.00
Mr. Jas. O'Donoghue	4.62
James Conolly, Jan. 1856, 10 bushels potatoes	5.00
John Cody	1.00
John Hynes, 1 bbl. flour	7.00
John Keenan	5.00
Madden & Campbell, groceries	5.00
Wm. Corbett	.50
James O'Hern	.50
John Larkin, Greece	1.00
John O'Brien, Front St., 1 bbl. Flour	7.00
Charles Hern	1.00
Andrew Brennan	5.00
Edward Duffy	5.00
Geo. A. Wilkin, groceries	2.00
W. A. Reynolds, allowed on Hall	2.50
Robert Carroll, 1 bbl. Flour	7.00
	$364.94

EXPENDITURES

Amount laid out for flour	$229.13
Amount laid out for meat	31.10
Amount laid out for clothing	21.63
Amount laid out for shoes	7.28
Amount laid out for rent paid for poor	26.00
Amount laid out for tea and potatoes	24.00
Balance on hand in treasury	25.80
	$364.94

The report is signed by Phillip Little, President, and William A. Donoghue, Secretary.[83] The Society of St. Vincent de Paul, St. Mary's Conference, published a similar report of their proceedings, from March 9, 1856, to March 9, 1857,

signed by James Goodman, President, and Patrick O'Brien, Secretary. This Conference obtained from various sources $415.08, all of which, with the exception of a balance in the treasury of $94.55, was expended on poor relief. Aid was given each week to 12 families, numbering 60 individuals, from April 1, 1856, to October 1, 1856, and to 24 families, numbering 99 individuals, from October 1, 1856, to March, 1857.[84] This work of charity grew year by year. St. Patrick's Conference, in its second year's work, distributed $763.59, which brought relief to 50 families, with from 3 to six persons in each family, during the winter, and to 20 families during the summer. In the winter of 1858-1859, St. Mary's Conference was giving constant relief to 40 families, numbering 161 persons. Nothwithstanding the pressure of the money market towards the end of 1860, the latter Conference announced its resolution to keep up their customary method of rendering assistance to the poor. By that time, the largest winter charity had become the distribution of bread and soup, which was made and distributed under the care of the Sisters of Mercy attached to the parish. The usual cost of the meat and vegetables and bread needed for the winter was about $300.00, but greater want amongst the poor because of the hard times would probably make a larger outlay of money necessary. The Society, therefore, made a more pressing appeal for funds. Father Moore, then the pastor of St. Mary's Church, headed the list of contributions with $30, and it was hoped that this example would move others to follow in the exercise of generosity according to their means. The work of the Society was primarily concerned with the poor of St. Mary's Parish, but persons who subscribed two dollars could donate a season ticket for bread and soup to any indigent person from any part of the city.[85]

The St. Vincent de Paul Society was the men's charity organization. Catholic women, however, also in time provided organized poor relief of their own. Thus, the Young Ladies of St. Mary's Church held a festival in the church basement, December 20, 1864, to raise funds to enable them to clothe the poor children of the parish.[86] The next year the same kind of a charity was organized in St. Patrick's Parish. Its Secretary, Mary T. Quinn, published the first annual report of the work, July 11, 1866.

The want of a society to relieve the destitute poor of the parish had long been felt by the community at large, but no steps had been taken for its organization until the 1st Sunday of July, 1865, though work was not commenced before the 12th of October. The ladies of the congregation were called together in the evening, and, though but a small number were present, it gave hopes that the society might become a large one. The only funds to commence with were the generous donations of our respected pastor and the ladies of the Society, and indeed to the efforts of our pastor and our president, Mrs. Dr. Thomas Bradley, are due, in a great measure, the success with which it has met. The ladies met once a week at the houses of those who were kind enough to give them accommodations. No one can have an idea of the destitution that reigns in the midst of every large community, unless in the habit of visiting localities where the poor principally reside. 162 families were clothed during the winter. The following number of articles have been distributed at different times: 3 cases of boys' boots; 2 cases of girls' shoes; 1 doz. hoods; 1 doz. girls' hats; 1 doz. boys' caps; 1 doz. woolen dresses; 2 doz. woolen shawls; 3 doz. hose; 5 doz. shirts; 7 doz. chemises; 96 dresses; 2 doz. jackets; 2 doz. pants; 2 doz. quilted skirts. The Society returns its thanks for the very liberal donation of 1 doz. fine woolen shawls and 1 piece of factory to Mr. Andrew Brennan; also to Mrs. Sullivan, milliner, for 1 doz. girls' hats.[87]

Considerable support for the St. Vincent de Paul Society was found in the shilling lecture, which at the same time provided good Catholic instruction to both Catholics and Protestants. Bishop Timon initiated this work by lecturing at the request of the St. Vincent de Paul Society in Corinthian Hall, December 8, 1856, on Purgatory. An attentive Protestant hearer stated at the time that "his explanation of Purgatory, as that state of future existence is understood by the Catholic Church, differed materially from the idea generally received by the anti-Catholic world."[88] A little more than a fortnight later, Reverend Dr. Moore delivered a lecture on the Papacy there, also in behalf of the St. Vincent de Paul Society.[89] Bishop Timon again lectured in Corinthian Hall, January 5, 1857, for the same charity, the subject being "A mere man cannot forgive sins."[90] Outside talent was also engaged in this work. January 13, 1857, the Hon. Mr. J. R. Chandler of Philadelphia lectured in Corinthian Hall on "The Influence of the Catholic Religion on Nations."[91] Six days later the people assembled in the same place to hear Dr. McElheron of New York on "The Celt and the Saxon in Europe and America,"

but the lecturer had been injured in a railroad wreck, and so failed to appear. The price of admission was refunded to all but those who donated it to the Society.[92] There was some disappointment when the Committee was unable to hire Corinthian Hall, which had been otherwise engaged, March 11, 1857, On that date, the Right Reverend Dr. Spalding, Bishop of Louisville, Ky., gave his lecture in St. Mary's Church on "How the Nations became Christian."[93] The Society, however, succeeded again in securing Corinthian Hall for Dr. Ives, the converted Episcopalian Bishop, November 29, 1857, when he spoke on "The Cowardice and Bondage of Errors."[94] The choice of subject may have been influenced by some anti-Catholic lectures, delivered the previous Spring by Reverend P. J. Leo and Reverend M. F. Fennel, also in Corinthian Hall, to which admittance was free, and which "Roman Catholics are respectfully invited to attend." There were four of these lectures delivered March 6, 7, 9, and 12, dealing respectively with the Roman Catholic Doctrine of Transubstantiation, Invocation of Saints and Angels, Purgatory, and the Pope. The first and last were delivered by Reverend P. J. Leo, the other two by Reverend M. F. Fennel. Outside of the paid advertisements, there are no press notices of these lectures in the *Union and Advertiser*.[95] Bishop Timon lectured again December 8, 1858, but this time in St. Mary's Church.[96] Its Pastor, Reverend D. Moore, did likewise February 20, 1859, choosing as his subject, "The Catholic Church in the United States."[97] The following fall, the St. Vincent de Paul Society made arrangements for a brief course of half dozen lectures: J. A. McMaster, Esq., November 15; Dr. T. L. Nichols, November 22; Dr. L. Silliman Ives, December 1; Dr. J. V. Huntington, December 13. Two other lecturers were mentioned, Dr. O. A. Brownson and Henry Giles, Esq., but the date for either was not announced.[98] Dr. T. L. Nichols, also a convert to Catholicism, gave four lectures, November 20, 23, 25, 27, on "The Origin, History, Genius, Spirit, and Oneness of Catholicity," on "Protestantism," on "Popular Objections to Christianity," on "The Catholic Church, the Church of the Bible." However, all these lectures are advertised "for the benefit of St. Mary's new Church."[99] Compensation was made, if there was any due, by a Sacred Concert at St. Mary's Church, December 11, 1859, "for the benefit of the St. Vincent de Paul

Society," with 35 cents charged for the admission of a gentleman, and 50 cents for the admission of a gentleman and lady.[100] Dr. Giles gave a lecture on Daniel O'Connell, January 29, 1860, in Corinthian Hall.[101] It does not appear that Dr. Brownson lectured at all in the course, but two prelates lectured later in St. Mary's Church without being announced in the program, Bishop Spalding, February 21, 1860, who chose as his subject, "The Dark Ages,"[102] and Bishop Timon who defended the Pope against his traducers, Napoleon, Sardinia, and England, March 4, 1860.[103] The shilling lecture then fails to appear in the advertisements of the newspaper, where everything was now overshadowed by the slavery issue. This does not mean that charity was swallowed up by the Civil War, as the following letter even attests its generous exercise for the relief of the starving Irish in Ireland.

Thurles, 12th July, 1863.

Dear and Very Rev. Sir:—

I have to acknowledge having received two remittances, amounting to 2,093 dollars, 34 cents, and 500 dollars, sent by Mr. A. Carrigan of the Irish Emigration Society for you, and collected in your district for the relief of the suffering people of Ireland by the direction of the Most Rev. Dr. Timon, Bishop of Buffalo. It is my pleasing duty also to acknowledge your esteemed letter of the 18th ultimo, together with a copy of his lordship's pastoral letter, addressed to the diocese in favor of the collection.

That letter, calling on the priests and people of his diocese to come to the relief of their distressed brethren of Ireland, I have read with no small emotion. Conceived in the spirit of the apostolic times, it is, moreover, an appeal as Irish in its tone and sentiments, breathing as much affection for the people of this downtrodden land, as if it had emanated from an Irish prelate.

That Ireland, so naturally fertile and united with "rich and powerful England" (his lordship's words), should be the subject of periodical visitations of want—sometimes little short of, sometimes amounting to starvation—is an anomaly, surprising indeed, yet least to be accounted for. Your good bishop does account in part for this anomaly. The apathy of the government of "rich and powerful England", which will not see or will not heed the distress of the Irish people, but leave them to their fate either to perish or live upon the charity of foreign lands—the hostility of the government of "rich and powerful England", which maintains a code of laws ruinous to the best interests of Ireland—these things the Bishop of Buffalo signalized in his admirable address, and they are undoubtedly among the causes of the anomalous and unhappy condition of Ireland.

The direct operation of the land laws is to root out the Celts—the Catholic Celts—from the soil of Ireland, and send them flying, as they are every day flying in thousands, to the extremities of the earth—to America, to Australia—to every part of the world where they can make out the means of living, denied them in the land of their birth. The government of "rich and powerful England" sees this, and will not raise its little finger to change the system of land laws which are depopulating Ireland. What are we to conclude from all this? What can we conclude, unless we are wilfully blind, but that the government of "rich and powerful England" has no objection to this depopulation of Ireland, and, therefore, leaves these laws to work this ruin? But England may yet rue this suicidal policy. In the day of battle, the stout bayonets of England have been borne by Irish Celts. England may want these stout bayonets again when she will not have them.

May God reward your good bishop, and his priests, and his people; and may He restore peace to your great country.

I remain, my dear and reverend sir,

Faithfully yours,
PATRICK LEAHY,
Archbishop of Cashel.

To the Very Rev. Michael O'Brien, V. G.,
St. Patrick's, Rochester, New York.[104]

The Catholic people of Rochester were better able to contribute to works of mercy at home and abroad through Bishop Timon's final success in cutting down expense in Catholic funerals. His pastoral in September, 1857, had already deprecated some of the most glaring abuses, but further action was taken two years later. Bishop Timon attended a meeting of priests in Rochester for funerals, March 31, 1859. Taking eleven more days for further consideration, he then issued a diocesan ordinance that

Henceforward the burial service shall be celebrated in that church in which the departed had right to parochial service; that the corpse will be followed in procession by the faithful on foot; yet, if the friends desire, not more than four carriages for the chief mourners may follow immediately after the body. The holy rites will be observed in the church exactly as ordained in the Ritual; the sacred ministers will accompany the corpse to the door of the church when the funeral service will terminate. The hearse and not more than four carriages will move on to the cemetery.

Surely this is the will of God, who formerly inspired us to make the law which our faithful Christians now wish us to enforce; we then hereby comply with their wish; hence, if any one violate, or is known to intend to violate this ordinance, all sacred burial rites shall be refused; nor will any priest be permitted to announce from

the pulpit the name of the departed, to request the prayers of the faithful; nor will any High Mass be celebrated for any deceased person whose friends despise the authority of the Church. We reserve to ourselves the right to pronounce against the living, who break this law, such spiritual pains and penalties as we, before God, may judge suitable.

The ordinance naturally also affected the livery business, although Bishop Timon carefully indicated that the hackmen would be indemnified by more frequent visits of mourners to the cemetery in their devotion to the dead, which the same pastoral fostered, so that "in the course of the year many carriages will thus be used without tumult, racing, or scandal." Nevertheless, hackmen took the occasion of a funeral at St. Mary's Church, May 2, 1859, to make a demonstration against the ordinance. According to the *Rochester Union and Advertiser* of that date: "Some ten or dozen hacks went to the Church, and all but three were ordered away, but the drivers refused at first to leave. The Police were sent for, but made no arrest. At length, however, all the hacks withdrew, leaving the mourners without carriages." The Editor of this newspaper then received a communication from the hackmen which he refused to publish:

We do not want to assist the authors to make themselves ridiculous. There must be men among those who drive hacks, who can see, if they will reflect for a moment, that their attitude is wrong, impolitic, and entirely untenable. We refer, of course, to those who undertake to make an issue with the Roman Catholic Bishop. It is absurd to suppose, as the communication before us assumed, that the Bishop had any desire to make war upon the hackmen; and it is equally absurd for them to suppose that anything they may write will change his purpose in regard to a matter in which they clearly have nothing to say. If there is a question of dispute, it lies between the Bishop and his people who desire to attend funerals in carriages contrary to the rule he has laid down. When this question has been settled, and the hackmen are called to attend funerals, it is their duty to drive wherever they are bidden by those who employ them; but it is not their place to drive to any funeral unbidden, or force attendance upon any person who does not require their services. We insist, with all kindness to the hackmen, that it is not their place to take any part in the controversy, if there is to be one, with Bishop Timon. Their incidental interest in the matter can best be looked after by the people of the diocese who may oppose the Bishop.

This was done in a rather peculiar way, although Bishop Timon, while in Rochester, May 7, 1859, also wrote an article

on funerals against the hackmen. Twenty days later there took place the funeral of ex-Alderman Schoeffel from St. Joseph's Church. The *Rochester Union and Advertiser* informed the public the same day: "The four-carriage rule was adhered to insomuch that four carriages went to the church with the mourners, but a large number of carriages waited in Andrews Street nearby and followed to the cemetery." The Redemptorist Fathers were, of course, ignorant of this and so escaped censure. Bishop Timon's presence in Rochester, November 5, 1859, gave him the opportunity personally to enforce the rule, as he noted in his Diary: "Service in Church for Miss O'Connor—7 carriages. Call O'Connor and Sharp, get pledge that only five shall go—preach." Nevertheless, the regulations were violated the same month. After consultation with the four Irish pastors of the city, "who agree that it was right and necessary", Bishop Timon wrote November 28, 1859: "Suspension of 3 months against A. C. Mullen, 1 year from Communion against Mr. and Mrs. Sharp, 30$, 10 to 3 Church institutions of Rochester, on each priest that went in the large procession of carriages at Mr. B. McMullen's funeral." Here penalties were inflicted on both clergy and laity. However, the former were mainly penalized according to the entries in Bishop Timon's Diary. Thus, August 24, 1863, "Rev. Wm. Payne comes at 3 P. M. to answer charge of having violated regulations of carriages at funerals in case of Col. O'Rourke's burial—admits in part his fault, says that he thought of getting out of carriage when he saw so many, *but did not*, and in the presence of the violation invited Rev. F. Jacobs to preach in the graveyard—write to F. Holzer, his Superior, about this." Late that night Father Early also came. Bishop Timon had a long conversation with him the next morning before the eight o'clock Mass about the burial of John Rigney—"Implicates Rev. J. Maurice, write for him, tell him that I will pronounce no censure, but that I wish him to say no Mass, nor exercise holy ministry until I have judged his case." When the Bishop took counsel with O'Farrell, O'Connor, and Gleason, they could not agree, and so he allowed Father Early to go home. Meanwhile, Bishop Timon had telegraphed for the Very Reverend Mr. O'Brien, but he did not arrive until eight o'clock that night. Although Bishop Timon then consulted them both before and after prayers, the

Council only decided unanimously the next day, August 26, 1863, "to suspend Early and Payne for one month; to wait for an answer from Maurice and Jacobs, and to impose a less penalty on them." These matters then developed to the satisfaction of Bishop Timon, as he was able to note in his Diary, September 18, 1865, during the retreat of the clergy: "Speak of law limiting number of carriages—declare now that it had effected its good work so that former scandals have disappeared—hence, if the clergy thought well, I would be willing to abrogate it, as former excesses and scandals could scarcely again re-appear—The Clergy generally appeared adverse—Still I set down the consideration of it for tomorrow." Bishop Timon then recommended "the Clergy to repress the bands and music at funerals—to preach according to decrees on the Christian mode of burying the Dead, &c." Thus, a new objective was proposed after the success attained despite special difficulties created in part by the burial of Civil War Veterans.

Chapter X

CIVIL WAR

Slavery had already been the great question in the political campaign of 1856, though it presented mixed issues to Catholic citizens. This is clearly indicated by Dr. Orestes A. Brownson:

> The most of us, who at the North voted for Mr. Buchanan, did so on Union Principles, for the purpose of defeating what we regarded as a Northern sectional party on the one hand, and an intolerant, un-American party on the other. We ourselves supported him not from any attachment to the Democratic party as such, but as the candidate opposed to Know Nothingism and Abolitionism, the two most threatening dangers that existed prior to the election. But there are other extremes also to guard against. Know-Nothingism we regard as dead and buried. The danger now arises almost solely from the question of negro-slavery,—a question which has no place rightfully in our Federal politics, but which has found a place there through the fault of the South as well as of the North, and cannot without a fearful struggle now be excluded. The incoming administration cannot prudently stave off this question, but must meet it boldly, firmly, and dispose of it, or it will dispose of the Democratic party.[1]

In his Inaugural Address, March 4, 1857, Mr. Buchanan congratulated the country on the settlement of the question of domestic slavery in the territories by the will of the majority.

> Congress is neither "to legislate Slavery into any territory or State, not to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." As a natural consequence, Congress has already prescribed that, when the Territory of Kansas shall be admitted as a State, it "shall be received into the Union with or without Slavery, as their Constitution may prescribe at the time of their admission."
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> A difference of opinion has arisen in regard to the point of time when the people of a territory shall decide this question for themselves.
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> This is happily a matter of but little practical importance. Besides, it is a judicial question, which legitimately belongs to the

Supreme Court of the United States, before whom it is now pending, and will, it is understood, be speedily and finally settled. To their decision, in common with all good citizens, I shall cheerfully submit.[2]

The President referred, in these words, to the Dred Scott Case. This negro had been held as a slave in Missouri by Dr. Emerson, a surgeon in the United States Army till 1834, when he was taken by his master to the military post at Rock Island in Illinois. In 1836, Dr. Emerson was transferred to Fort Snelling in the Territory of Minnesota; he took with him Dred Scott, who was married there, with the consent of his master, to a black woman Harriet, also then a slave of the same master. Two children were born to them outside of slave territory.[3] The Missouri Compromise, however, had enacted March 6, 1820,:

That, in all that territory ceded by France to the United States, under the name of Louisiana, which lies north of thirty-six degrees thirty minutes north latitude, excepting only such part thereof as is included within the limits of State contemplated by this act, slavery and involuntary servitude, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall be and is hereby forever prohibited.

Provided always, That any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any State or Territory of the United States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service as aforesaid.[4]

When Scott and his family were sold to John F. A. Sanford by his old master who, meanwhile, had returned to St. Louis, Scott sued for his freedom. The case was finally carried to the Supreme Court of the United States, which deferred the decision till March 6, 1857, when it was finally given.

. . . It is the opinion of the Court that the act of Congress which prohibited a citizen from holding property of this kind in the territory of the United States north of the line therein mentioned is not warranted by the Constitution, and it is therefore void; and that neither Dred Scott himself, nor any of his family, were made free by being carried into this territory, even if they had been carried their by the owner, with the intention of becoming a permanent resident . . .

. . . It is the judgment of this Court, that it appears by the record before us that the plaintiff in error is not a citizen of Missouri, in the sense in which that word is used in the Constitu-

> tion; and that the Circuit Court of the United States for that reason had no jurisdiction in it. Its judgment for the defendant must, consequently, be reversed, and a mandate issued, directing the suit to be dismissed for want of jurisdiction.

The considerations, upon which the opinion and judgment were based, aroused the bitter indignation of the abolitionists, while they were also far from acceptable to a very large class of American citizens who had carefully kept themselves free from abolition extremes. Chief Justice Taney narrowed the issue down to the question whether negros "compose a portion of this people, and are constituent members of this sovereignty?" He answered:

> We think they are not, and that they are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word 'citizens' in the Constitution, and can, therefore, claim none of the rights and privileges which that instrument provides for and secures to citizens of the United States. On the contrary, they were at that time considered as a subordinate and inferior class of beings, who had been subjugated by the dominant race, and whether emancipated or not, yet remained subject to their authority, and had no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and the Government might choose to grant them.

Justice Wayne of Georgia, Justice Nelson of New York, Justice Grier of Pennsylvania, Justice Daniel of Virginia, and Justice Campbell of Alabama fully concurred in the opinion of the Court as written and read by the Chief Justice. However, Justice Catron of Tennessee refused to disallow the power of Congress "to govern the territories, by its legislation directly, or by territorial charters, subject to repeal at all times," but he agreed that Dred Scott had no right to freedom. The dissenting opinion of Justice McLean of Ohio and of Justice Curtis of Massachusetts disputed the very considerations on which Chief Justice Taney founded his decision of the case.[5] The circumstances naturally favored a lively discussion of the issues involved throughout the country. His Review gave Dr. Brownson, the distinguished convert to the Catholic Faith, plenty of opportunity to manifest what he thought of the case. He accepted the practical effects of the decision in so far as it affected the condition of Dred Scott and his family.

> Scott was a slave before he left the State, and we can understand no reason why his temporary residence at the United States

military post in Illinois or other free States should have operated his freedom, so that, on his return to Missouri, he could not be legally held as a slave under her laws. His being employed at the United States military posts makes in our judgment some difference in the case, for, while residing at them, he was still constructively in Missouri. Had he chosen, when in Illinois, to leave his master, a question, however, might arise, whether he could have been recovered as a fugitive slave. But he, having remained with his master and returned with him to Missouri, we think the Court was quite right in still regarding him as a slave.[6]

Nevertheless, Dr. Brownson strenuously argued against Chief Justice Taney's doctrine that persons of the negro race are not included in our political community, and cannot be citizens of the United States.

Mr. Chief Justice Taney rests the opinion of the Court on the estimation in which the negro race was held at the time the Union was formed. They were regarded as no fit associates socially or politically for white men, as having no rights which white men were bound to respect, while nobody denied that they might be bought and sold as an ordinary article of merchandise. Suppose such was the fact, what has that to do with the questions? Is it anywhere incorporated into the Constitution of the Union, or recognized by the laws of the United States? Of course not. Then it cannot be cited against the rights of free negroes under the Federal Government.

But we dispute the fact. There can be no reasonable doubt that Mr. Jefferson and many others, when they declared all men equal, intended the principle they asserted after Pope Alexander should apply in its fullest extent. Mr. Chief Justice Taney is a Catholic and knows that from 1482 the Popes have condemned on pain of excommunication, the reduction of African negros to slavery, and he knows that Mr. Jefferson, in his draft of the Declaration of Independence, enumerated among the things which justified the colonies in severing the tie which bound them to Great Britan and in casting off their allegiance to the British Crown, the fact that the Crown had refused its assent to laws prohibiting the importation of negros from Africa to be held as slaves. There was too, at the adoption of the federal Constitution, already rising throughout the civilized world a strong opinion against the justice of negro slavery. The right to buy and sell negros, already slaves, as an ordinary article of merchandise, was very generally held, I grant, but the right to buy and sell free negros to slavery was denied by the Catholic Church, and was, I would fain believe, held by very few. There were then free negros as well as now; if everybody regarded, or looked upon them as having no rights which white men were bound to respect, what was the difference between a free negro and a negro

slave? How can a man, who has no rights which all others are bound to respect, be said to be free?

Mr. Chief Justice Taney seems to us to proceed on the assumption that negros are politically and legally a degraded race in the Union; but such is not the fact. They may be so in some of the States; but they are not so in the Union, nor indeed in all the States. We regret that, in giving the opinion of the Court, the learned Judge did not recollect what he is taught by his religion, namely the unity of the race, that all men by natural law are equal, and that negros are men, and, therefore, as to their rights must be regarded as standing on the same footing with white men, when there is no positive or municipal law that degrades them. Here is what we dare maintain is the error of the Court. We admit that negros, but not negros any more than white men, may be reduced by positive law to slavery, but planting ourselves on the Constitution and natural right, as expounded by the Church and Common Law, we maintain and will maintain in the face of all Civil Courts, that, where no such law reduces the negro to slavery, he is a free man, and, in the absence of all municipal regulations to the contrary has equal rights with the white man. Neither race nor complexion disables a man under our Federal system. That negros may be citizens and possess equal rights with white men is proved by the fact that we have made them so in the territories acquired from France, Spain, and Mexico by the very treaties by which we acquired those territories. The opinion of the Court belongs to an epoch prior to the introduction of Christianity, and is more in accordance with the teaching of Aristotle than with that of the Gospel. We have no more disposition to interfere with slavery where it legally exists than have our Southern friends, but we do protest against an opinion which places negros as such not only out of the pale of our Republic, but out of the pale of humanity. If opinion once went that length, it was the business of the Court to brand it with its disapprobation, and not to recognize it as law. The Court should lean to the side of the weak, and set its face against oppression. The negro race is, no doubt, inferior to the white race, but is that the reason why they should be enslaved or why the Court should join the stronger against the weaker?

Dr. Brownson especially regretted the decision because he foresaw "that it will be impossible to prevent the Anti-Slavery agitation from being pushed on with new vigor and with more danger than ever. The decision will be regarded as an extreme Southern opinion, and the dissent from the majority of the ablest judges from the Free States will deprive it of all moral force out of the Slave States."[7] Dr. Brownson was neither a "nigger-driver" nor a "nigger-worshipper," and so pleased neither of the extreme parties created by the slavery

issue. Nevertheless, the *Rochester Democrat* eagerly seized upon this passage from *Brownson's Review* and abused it for an attack upon Catholics. "The Romanists in this country are generally found on the side of Slaveholders nothwithstanding the position taken by Popes in former times. They excuse the holding of slaves and denounce anti-slavery people, and Brownson is not an exception to this. The dissent, which is above declared to the opinion of a Chief Justice, who adheres to the Papal Church, will have all the more weight on that account. We commend to those Catholics who are inclined to agree with John Mitchell the foregoing extract from Brownson."[8] Father Daniel Moore sent to the Editor of the Democrat an able rejoinder, April 21, 1857:

> You are a Republican, and no doubt honestly opposed to the Democratic Party and its supposed union with Slavery; you are, of course, perfectly at liberty to belong to any political party you please; but you will grant Catholics, I hope, the same liberty. You may denounce Democrats, Democrats may denounce you as unconstitutional; but it sounds very strange in our ears to hear Republicans denouncing 'Romanists', (Catholics, if you please, as courtesy would dictate to a gentleman), because a majority of them happen to belong to the other party, notwithstanding the fact that the Catholic Church, and *that alone*, has abstained from first to last to have anything to do in its Councils with regard to Slavery in these United States. If we had been divided—North and South—like other denominations, thereby demonstrating our sectional character, there is no doubt you would have some cause of complaint and, perhaps, of rejoicing.
>
> It is not so with men like the lamented J. C. Calhoun; they would mourn for the rupture of the last link which binds North and South in one grand whole. But we are not; our clergy make no laws for the Catholics of the North which are not acceptable at the South, nor for those of the South which are not acceptable at the North. They leave the laity free to adopt any platform not in opposition to the Divine law or the law of the land. The Clergy *cannot* make any law but that which has been handed down to them, and *have made* no law to interfere with the vested rights of the Slaveholders in the United States. If any attempt had been made to abolish or maintain, extend or diminish Southern Slavery, we could plead guilty; but when the contrary is the case, we cannot help feeling aggrieved, not at the mad ravings of some fanatical preachers, but at the unprovoked accusations of men who ought to address the public without distinction of creed, color, or birth-place, whose accusations, therefore, are more censurable.

Dear Sir, you lay down premises which are false, draw conclusions which are also false, state facts which are opposed to your arguments, and give advice which is, to say the least, impertinent.

You assert, in the first place, that Catholics are generally found on the side of Slaveholders, excuse the holding of slaves, denounce anti-slavery people, all of which I and every well informed Catholic pronounce false in theory and denied by fact.

On the other hand, you acknowledge that 'the position taken by the Popes in former times' was of a different nature; for you say: '*notwithstanding* the position taken by the Popes of former times Catholics 'are on the side of Slaveholders.' And again, as if to strengthen an argument against yourself, you adduce an extract from 'the R. Cath. Review', which goes to show that Chief Justice Taney, in his decision of the 'Dred Scott Case', did not recollect what he is taught by his religion (the Catholic religion), namely the unity of the race, that all men by the natural law are equal, and that negros are men, and, therefore, as to their rights must be regarded as standing on the same footing as white men, *where there is no positive or municipal law that degrades them.*

It is false *in theory* that Catholics, either in America or any other land, are favorable to Slavery.—I do not deny that *some Catholics* may make money out of Slavery, as some Protestants do; but I assert and you yourself grant that the Supreme Spiritual Power of Our church has *excommunicated all* connected with the Slave trade.—And furthermore I assert that Catholics in America and everywhere else heartily concur in this decision. That we do is evident, and I have only to cite the opinion expressed by 'the R. Cath. Review' time and again, a Review indeed edited by a layman, but one which in this case merely states what has been and is the *theory* of the Catholic body in America, and had been even before the "Declaration of Independence",—"That all men are free and equal," by the natural law, and are deprived of their rights only by some *positive* or *municipal* law, which may degrade a white as well as a red or black man.

It is denied *by fact.* The Catholic Church, (and American Catholics are a good specimen of its members), has never, either in America or elsewhere, riveted a chain upon a single slave.—From the first Council that assembled in Baltimore till now, not a single act can be produced to demonstrate that Catholics as a body 'are found on the side of the Slaveholders, &c.' True, the Prelates have not interfered for or against the vested rights of Americans; true, the clergy do not raise the tocsin of war on the slave-holders from the pulpit; true, they are not all to be found on the Republican side; true, the majority of Catholics has followed the Democrat banner for years past, and still do; but does this warrant your conclusion that Catholics "are generally found on the side of slaveholders, &c.)

Another would conclude that the Catholic clergy is a quiet, orderly, law-abiding body; and that the Catholic laity have the boldness

to vote as they please—some in the Republican, others, the majority, in the Democratic ranks. Thus, having granted that 'the position taken by the Popes in former times' *was not* 'on the side of the slaveholders', you grant the *theory* that Catholics as a body are not; for otherwise you have to prove that Popes in former times took a position not held by Popes in later times, and that Catholics in America have taken up a position not held by their Popes. Furthermore, having conceded that *our only Review* in America 'disposes of the *dictum* of the Catholic Chief Justice', you must conclude, *in fact*, that Catholic opinion and action in these United States are not so servile as you pretend to say, taking it for granted that *our only Review* is a pretty fair estimate of Catholic opinion and action until the Catholic clergy or press come out in condemnation or explanation. And as you must also concede that the Catholic clergy in their official capacity have done nothing to maintain slavery, charity and common sense would forbid you to draw conclusions broader than what are warranted by your premises, that is, instead of affirming that Catholics 'are generally found on the side of slaveholders', you ought to conclude that they are a law-abiding people, oppose neither the Constitution, the Supreme Court, the Fugitive Slave Law, nor any other law or decision made by the supreme power of the land, as long as it does not command or forbid anything contrary to the Divine or Natural Law;—and even then, as has heretofore happened, that they are not overfond of rioting and rebellion, but bear wrong and tyranny with patience till forbearance ceases to be a virtue.

But so many Catholics are Democrats! What if they are? Is this the way to make Republicans? Be kind, liberal, logical, constitutional; cease enacting your Puritanic blue laws, which are as degrading to our Nationality as they are useless to our morality, and let not your Republican press yield so much to the bitterness and prejudices of the Know Nothings. Then, perhaps, the Democratic party will become jealous of its rival. But do not pretend to brand Catholics of America with being 'on the side of slaveholders', because they, rather the majority of them, prefer to belong to that party which seems to them more conservative than yours, which has outnumbered yours at the past election by three quarters of a million votes, which can boast of as honored names as any that ever filled the history of any other political party of the world. At least, remember, dear Sir, that, if Catholics of America be guilty and accountable for *the action of the majority*, according to the same mode of argument, the *people of America* are 'on the side of the slaveholders', as they are accountable for the action of the majority in the last election! But partisan decisions and opinions, as you yourself admit, are not worth much; and it does not matter much to us whether the Evangelical pulpits, the Abolition Press, or the Know Nothing Conspiracy be loudest in their denun-

ciations of us; we stand on the platform of our constitutional rights, and despise the base operations of any individual or party, we request you to respect our religion and to cease exciting the passions of Northern Abolitionists against us. (N. B. I do not confound Abolitionists and Republicans by any means.)

What, permit me to ask, do you mean by 'commending the those Catholics, who are inclined to agree with John Mitchell, the extract from Brownson'? What is it to Catholics what J. Mitchell, or you, or any body else may think, write, or do regarding slavery or anything else? You might as well have inserted Theo. Parker, H. W. Beecher, Joe Smith, Stringfellow or Brooks, as J. Mitchell, though I would not put J. Mitchell on a level with some of the above, as he is not a sectionalist. But what have Catholics to do with him, or you, or any individual in the land? Let individuals answer for themselves; let the Democratic party answer for itself; let Catholics answer for themselves.

But do you mean to insinuate that Catholics prefer slavery to freedom? If so, your insinuation is as baseless as your advise is useless and uncalled for.

We are freemen, sir, opposed to slavery everywhere, in every age, and of every description—slavery of the body, and the more galling slavery of the soul. We have nothing to gain by slavery at the South, for few of the slaves or slaveholders belong to our church; our feelings, our prejudices, our desires, our education, our religion, everything that we have felt or learned is diametrically opposed to it. Nevertheless, we are American citizens; some of us, indeed, have been beaconed across the ocean waves by the Starry Banner of our Revolutionary Sires, while others have been born under the glorious folds of the Constitution; yet all of us, as American citizens, have sworn to uphold and observe the Constitution; and we cannot, therefore, attack the vested rights of other American citizens, be they what they may. Are we then 'on the side of slaveholders'? Do we then 'excuse the holding of slaves'? Do we then 'denounce anti-slavery people'? No, sir, there is a middle course between attacking the vested rights of American citizens and standing sponsor to slavery or desiring to prolong the groans of an afflicted people. There is a middle ground between abolition and slavery propagandist ranks, where *we* can stand with other American citizens, willing to aid in every legitimate manner for the peaceful abolition of Southern Slavery, and, at the same time, resolved to uphold the Union, like our forefathers, at the cost even of 'our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.'

"In fortune and in fame we're bound,
By stronger links than steel;
And neither can be safe or sound,
But in the other's weal."

Father Moore met with very unfair treatment at the hands of the editorial staff of the *Democrat.* His communication was not published in the paper. The editor, however, took the liberty to make comments upon it in his characteristic, prejudiced style, ending with the question: "Will he tell us how many of the Papal Priesthood were on the Anti-Slavery side of politics last fall? Perhaps, his information is better than ours; but we have been told by Catholic priests that the number was very few indeed." Father Moore had no hesitation in facing the question and answering it.

As a matter of course, I am personally acquainted with every priest in this Diocese; and from their mode of acting as well as from reliable information, I can affirm with certainty how my Reverend brethren act in politics. I know their sentiments concerning slavery—not one of them but would lay his heart's blood at the foot of the Altar of God for the Abolition of Slavery, for the blotting out of that awful sink of demoralization and corruption, which grows blacker and deeper and wider every day. I know what they think of politics also;—they leave politics to men of the world. Or if they have interfered, it was only once (if even then), when men, who ought to have known better, aroused hatred against them and their religion. Perhaps, then, they did give advice to have Catholics unite in defence of their 'Altars and Homes'. But the advice was unnecessary, for Catholics are men, and have the common sense of men, the spirit of freemen, and the honor of their God to incite them to unite against a conspiracy of tyrants and fanatics.

Hence what I know of the clergy of this city and Diocese, I dare affirm over my signature of the American Catholic Clergy in general, —that "very few voted at all" at the last election, either for or against slavery. I have not heard of a Priest of the whole diocese who went to the Polls last fall, and, therefore, deny the statement said to have been volunteered by 'Catholic Priests' to the *Democrat.* When the *Democrat* has the boldness to affirm anything like this concerning the Catholic clergy, let it do so only upon authority which *may be cited as reliable,* not on the authority of the shadowy personification of the editor's suspicions. *Some* priests, indeed, may have voted the Democratic, others the Republican ticket, last fall; thence cannot be inferred that those 'on the anti-Slavery side of politics were very few indeed', nor on the contrary side very many.

It is not my wish to enter into any discussion with the *Democrat;* but it is only fair that the attention of the Catholic people of Rochester (numbering 20,000 at least) should be called to these prejudiced and impertinent remarks.[9]

Apparently, Father Moore was well informed on the subject in controversy. He was evidently a close reader of the articles on Slavery by Dr. O. A. Brownson, who stood, as long as it was possible, for the abolition of slavery by the interested States themselves, with mercy to the slave and justice to his master, and without a violation of the Constitution, the bond of the Union.[10] The Reverend Mr. Creedon of Auburn had, some years before, given a lecture on "The Action of the Church on Slavery", which was so opportune now that he was urgently invited by a large number of gentlemen, Catholic and Protestant—to repeat it. He did so Tuesday evening, April 28, 1857, on condition that the proceeds be devoted to a charitable purpose.[11] Father Moore also had the satisfaction of seeing his position vindicated by the teaching of the Pastoral, which the Catholic Hierarchy, assembled early in May, 1858, in the Provincial Council of Baltimore, addressed to the clergy and laity. It words nicely the proper policy for the Catholic Church on the Slavery question.

> The peaceful and conservative character of our principles, which are adapted to every form of government and every state of society has been tested and made manifest in the great political struggles that have agitated the country on the subject of domestic slavery. Although history plainly testifies that the Church has always befriended the poor and laboring classes, and effectually procured the mitigation of the evils attached to servitude until, through her mild influence, it passed away from the nations of Europe, yet she has never disturbed established order or endangered the peace of society by following the theories of philanthropy.
>
> Faithful to the teachings and example of the apostles, she has always taught servants to obey their masters, not serving to the eye merely, but as to Christ, and, in His name, she commands masters to treat their servants with humanity and justice, reminding them that they also have a Master in Heaven. We have not, therefore, found it necessary to modify our teachings with a view of adopting it to local circumstances. Among us, there has been no agitation on this subject. Our clergy have wisely abstained from all interference with the judgment of the faithful, which should be free on all questions of policy and social order within the limits of the doctrine and law of Christ. We exhort you, venerable brethren, to pursue this course so becoming "the ministers of Christ and dispensers of God". Let the dead bury the dead. Leave the worldlings the cares and anxieties of political partisanship, the struggles for ascendancy and the mortifications of disappointed

ambition. Do not, in any way, identify the interests of our holy Faith with the fortunes of any party; but preaching peace and good will to all mankind, study only to win to truth the deluded children of error, and to merit the confidence of your flocks, so that, becoming all to all, you may gain all to Christ.[12]

This aloofness from politics as such did not prevent Bishop Timon from following the example of Christ, of the Apostles, and of the ancient fathers of the Church in enforcing the conscientious discharge of men's duty towards the State. They did it towards a State that was pagan and even hostile to Christianity; he did it towards a State which acknowledged, at least, its obligations to the one, true, and living God as the Maker and Benefactor of man in his social as well as in his individual and family life. Thus Bishop Timon gladly availed himself of the opportunity of co-operating with the civil authority in the worthy celebration of Thanksgiving Day.

His Excellency, the Governor of this State, has "invited all to unite" on Thursday 26th. inst., in general Thanksgiving to Almighty God for the many blessings bestowed on our beloved country, and on its highly favored inhabitants. We then also invite our beloved flock to offer on that day, with special fervor, their heartfelt thanksgiving to "the Father of Mercies" for preservation and blessings during the past year; through the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, they can offer up their praise and their thanks in noblest form, through and with the adorable victim.—Each pastor will celebrate the Holy Sacrifice, on the 26th, at the hour which is most convenient, and insert in the Mass the Collect, "Pro Gratiarum Actione."[13]

Here it was a question of the religious duty of the State towards God. While Bishop Timon, at a conference of the Clergy, October 30, 1860, warned them not to mingle in politics, he also emphasized the moral obligations to God in the discharge of the citizen's duty towards the State. This is shown by his pastoral, given from the Cathedral of St. Joseph, on All Saint's Day, A. D., 1860.

John, by the Grace of God and the authority of the Holy See, Bishop of Buffalo, to the Faithful of the Diocese, Health and Benediction.

God, in his unsearchable Providence, having ordained us to be your Bishop, gave also for each one of you, with the sacred unction of our consecration, the tender solicitude, the devoted affection of a

loving father. Hence, as the eve of each election, we have been accustomed to offer you some words of paternal advice and of Christian warning. At the approach of an election, so important as that of next Tuesday, our heart and our duty again urge us to speak of the most important act you are soon to perform. All know that the happiness, safety, and prosperity of our noble and beloved country depend on the manner in which the freemen of this great Republic discharge the sacred obligations of the elective franchise.

If voters, duly appreciating the importance of the act, and feeling their responsibilities to God and their country for the conscientious vote they cast, seek to elect fit men for office, we may confidently hope that God's blessed light will guide our legislators, and His justice and mercy direct the administration of the just and equal laws which they will frame. But if corruption poisons the source of legislation and power, if bribery—forbidden by the laws of God and man—be resorted to with success, if base motives of individual interests induce citizens to vote against their conscience for men whom they know to be unqualified or corrupt, each vote will be a crime against God, a treason to our country, and a death blow, as far as it goes, to the Republic. Should such unholy voting become general, the country, with all its cherished glories, must fall.

The Holy Scriptures say: "Whether you eat or drink, or whatever else you do, do all things for the glory of God." And elsewhere: "All whatsoever you do, in word or in work, do all in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ;" since through the temporal order, which, for good or evil, your votes immediately affect, even your eternal interests may be imperilled. Then, dearly beloved, when you attend the Divine Sacrifice next Sunday, promise to your God that you will cast your vote honestly and conscientiously for His sake, that He may reward you, and for your Country's sake, that you may be blessed in prosperity, which honest voting will ensure.

We also recommend you to beg God, particularly at the Holy Mass on the Sunday before Election, that he would protect you and your families from all evil and each sad accident. To ensure the effect of your prayers, co-operate with God's mercy by keeping out of the way of danger. Go early to the polls, give in your vote as soon as possible, then return to your homes or to your occupation,—and above all keep away from drink. By prudence and sobriety, you will avoid many of those catastrophes which have often spread the black pall of mourning around the dearly bought joys or the wild riot of election days.

We request each pastor to read this at the late Mass, (next Sunday), and recommend all the congregation to pray, in the secret of their hearts, to God, that no scandal, no riot, no violence may desecrate the day, when a great nation, before God and in His name, elects its Chief Magistrate, many Legislators, and important Civic Officers.[14]

Dr. Brownson's prophecy now became true. Buchanan's administration had failed to dispose of the Slavery issue, and it now disposed of the Democratic Party. The course of events moved rapidly between the election of Abraham Lincoln and the taking over of the government by the new administration after his inauguration. As early as December 14, 1860, President Buchanan designated Friday, January 4, 1861, for Humiliation, Fasting, and Prayer "to save us from the horrors of civil war."[15] Bishop Timon also sent out a Pastoral to his clergy on this occasion.

> With all good citizens we mourn over the dangers which now threaten our beloved country. We, from earliest youth, eagerly listened to the maxims, exagerated perhaps, but, as then in the mouths of all, most assuredly breathing the true spirit of devotion to our noble confederacy, 'united we stand, divided we fall.' Alas! What evils may not lurk in the dark clouds that now thunder forth 'secession'. But God, who was with our forefathers, giving success against fearful odds; God, whose holy Providence has guided our cherished country to wonderful prosperity, giving her a rank among the first Powers of the earth, will, we hope and pray, yet 'speak peace to the storm'. Our help is 'in the name of the Lord who made heaven and earth.' He says: 'Ask and you shall receive'. Let us then, dearly beloved, ask Him to soothe the angry emotions of many generous hearts, to dispel the clouds that darkly brood over the Union, to save us from disunion and strife, and give us peace. To this end we ordain that the collect *Pro Pace* henceforward and till the feast of St. Joseph, March 14th, be said at Mass on all Sundays and festivals; and that the following prayer, at late Mass, during the same time, he recited before the sermon.
>
> We pray Thee, O Almighty God and Eternal God, Who, through Jesus Christ, has revealed Thy glory to all nations, to preserve the works of Thy mercy, that Thy Church, being spread through the whole world, may continue with unchanging faith in the confession of Thy name.
>
> We pray Thee, Who alone art good and holy, to endow with heavenly knowledge, sincere zeal, and sanctity of life, our chief Bishop, N. N., the Vicar of our Lord, Jesus Christ, in the government of His Church; our own Bishop, N. N., all other Bishops, Prelates and Pastors of the Church, and especially those who are appointed to exercise, amongst us, the functions of the holy ministry, and conduct Thy people into the ways of salvation.
>
> We pray Thee, O God of might, wisdom, and justice, through whom authority is rightly administered, laws are enacted, and judgment decreed, assist, with Thy Holy Spirit of counsel and fortitude, the President of these United States; that his administration may

be conducted in righteousness and be eminently useful to Thy people, over whom he presides, by encouraging due respect for virtue and religion, by a faithful execution of the laws in justice and mercy, and by restraining vice and immorality. Let the light of Thy Divine wisdom direct the deliberations of Congress, and shine forth in all their proceedings and laws, enacted for our rule and government, so that they may tend to the preservation of peace, the promotion of national happiness, the increase of industry, sobriety, and useful knowledge, and may perpetuate to us the blessings of equal liberty.

We pray for his Excellency, the Governor of this State, for the Members of Assembly, for all Judges and Magistrates and other officers, who are appointed to guard our political welfare, that they may be enabled, by Thy powerful protection, to discharge the duties of their respective stations with honesty and ability.

We recommend likewise to Thy unbounded mercy all our brethren and fellow-citizens throughout the United States, that they may be blessed in the knowledge and sanctified in the observance of Thy most holy law, that they may persevere in union, and in that peace which the world cannot give, and, after enjoying the blessings of this life, be admitted to those which are eternal.

Finally, we pray Thee, O Lord of mercy, to remember the souls of Thy servants departed, who are gone before us with the sign of faith and repose in the sleep of peace; the souls of our parents, relations, and friends; of those, who, when living, were members of this congregation, and particularly of such as are lately deceased; of all benefactors, who, by their donations of legacies to this church, witnessed their zeal for the decency of divine worship, and prove their claims to our grateful and charitable remembrance. To these, O Lord, and to all that rest in Christ, grant, we beseech Thee, a place of refreshment, light, and everlasting peace. Through the same Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour. Amen.[16]

No one regretted more than Bishop Timon the great calamity that, nevertheless, overwhelmed his country. At the late Mass, April 21, 1861, while preaching on St. Joseph, he advised the people "to ask his help for prudence now that we are in war—I deplore it and the rupture of the glorious Union —but a false principle, even 'the divine right of rebellion', has been thrown into the world—the leaven ferments—a small minority seek to excite rebellion, they unite and plan—the cunning of the serpent—the good are quiet, soon are discouraged." Bishop Timon indeed feared for the fate of his country; Queen Elizabeth had thus succeeded in robbing England of the Catholic Faith while Victor Emanuel was then

COLONEL LOUIS ERNST

Born in Germany, July 19, 1825; settled in Brighton with his parents in 1831; enlisted in the State Militia in 1849; lieutenant colonel of 54th Regiment in 1860; member of the war committee organizing 108th and 140th Infantry of Civil War; refused to be colonel of 140th, but consented to be lieutenant colonel, if an officer with military education was put in command. P. H. O'Rorke was, therefore, appointed Colonel. When the latter was killed, Mr. Ernst was elected his successor by the officers of the Regiment, but he declined. Finally, Colonel George Ryan, also a graduate of West Point, commanded the regiment until May 8, 1864, when he was killed in the action near Spottsylvania Court-House. He rests in Holy Sepulchre Cemetery alongside of Colonel P. H. O'Rorke.

Meanwhile, Mr. Ernst had returned, in civil life, to the hardware business, which later developed into a family enterprise, while he also engaged in other undertakings, Rochester German Insurance Company, East Side Savings Bank, the German American Bank, etc.

In public service he was also supervisor and alderman from the tenth ward, 1860-1864; appointed by Governor Fenton a manager of the Western House of Refuge in 1869, he served until he resigned in 1885. He was a member of the Memorial Committee in charge of the Sailors and Soldiers Monument, at the unveiling of which, on Memorial Day, 1892, he would have been chief marshal as commander of the Veteran Brigade, if he had not died suddenly April 3, 1892. Throughout his life, he was identified with the progress of Catholic Rochester.

SOLDIERS AND SAILORS MONUMENT

likewise usurping what belonged to the Pope. Thus Bishop Timon noted the content of his sermon in his Diary.

On the outbreak of the Civil War, a good proportion of Catholics rallied to the defence of the Union by enlisting in the volunteer army. Some were already enrolled in the State Militia, which was turned over to the Federal Government after President Lincoln's call for 75,000 men to put down the rebellion. Recruiting once begun could not cease till the end of the war, and the serious character of the conflict made large armies an absolute necessity. Yet the religious question must have been the source of anxious thought to the conscientious Catholic soldier, who earnestly desired to have the consolation of the last rites of his church, if death should claim him on the field of battle. In some places, Catholics had organized regiments to which priests were attached as chaplains. This was the case with the 69th New York, which was nearly all Catholic, and had Reverend Thomas Mooney as chaplain. Father Moore, then pastor of St. Mary's Church, Rochester, and several other gentlemen of the city thought the example a good one to follow. They went to Albany, and there obtained full authority from the Governor and Major General Morgan to raise an Irish Brigade in Western New York. Father Moore relinquished his pastorate to become its chaplain, as "the patriotism, which prompted him to resist British oppression in his own country and caused him to be driven from the land of his birth into exile, will not brook inaction while unholy rebellion threatens to destroy the land of his adoption."[17] The Reverend Thomas O'Flaherty was removed from Elmira, and appointed in the place of Father Moore at St. Mary's Church, Rochester, where he arrived December 5, 1861.[18] However, in the following April, the Reverend James McMannus of St. Francis de Sales, Geneva, changed places with the new pastor of St. Mary's, Rochester.[19] Meanwhile, the work of recruiting for the Irish Brigade was going on throughout western New York. The following advertisement shows how its promoters went to work.

IRISH BRIGADE

(American Eagle: Wings spread)

Volunteers wanted

For the Irish Brigade now forming in Western New York
Headquarters at Rochester
Able bodied men between the ages of 18 and 45 are
wanted immediately for this Brigade

Pay from $13 to $23 per month from the date of enlistment.
$160 Bounty at the end of the war.

The Brigade is to rendezvous at Camp Hill House, Rochester,
where the best of food, clothing, &c., will be furnished.

Offices in Rochester
No. 20 1-2 South St. Paul Street
Capt. John McMahon

No. 40 Main Street
Chas. C. Buckley
Geo. W. Conolly

No. 6 Mill Street
(A few doors south of the Central RR. Depot)
Thos. G. Murphy
Thos. Purcell

No. 36 Front Street
(Next south of Sheridan's Store)
P. W. Bradley
Jos. E. Conway[20]

Unfortunately, the Federal Government could not wait till the Brigade was fully recruited, and March 31, 1862, the Irish Companies, numbering about 300 men under Captains McMahon, Bradley, Purcell, and under Lieutenant Colonel Carroll, left Rochester, having been consolidated into the 105th New York regiment.[21] Dr. Bradley had accepted the position of surgeon to the Irish Regiment, but he now resigned, and Dr. Chamberlain of Le Roy took the post, with Dr. Casey, formerly assistant physician at St. Mary's Hospital, as assistant surgeon.[22] The consolidation seems to have thrown Father Moore out of the expected chaplaincy, for he appears as Pastor of Mt. Morris a year later in some newspaper correspondence.[23]

Not all priests were willing to take an active part in promoting the enterprise. Where it was given, it facilitated the work of recruiting, and officers were anxious to secure the desirable help. Thus, Joseph Deverell asked the co-operation

of the Reverend Joseph V. O'Donohoe, the pastor of Scottsville, July 23, 1862:

> Associated with Patrick H. McCullen and Patrick C. Cavanaugh, I have been appointed by the Military Committee of this county with the expectation that our fellow-countrymen, the Irish, would unite with us in raising a company for the Monroe regiment. Your co-operation and influence is solicited in our behalf. Except our fellow-countrymen take an interest in this company, our progress will be slow.
>
> It is hoped that we will not be entirely in the background in this important work. If you deem it advisable, I will have a war meeting at your place at such a time as you may think best. If not improper, I hope you will, at next divine worship, make known our position to your congregation in such manner as to you may be most appropriate.[24]

The petitioners were disappointed in their expectations. Father O'Donohoe had never spoken on war in his Church, and refused to do so now.

> As an Irishman, I am proud of the valor displayed by my countrymen from Clontarf to Fontenoy, and from Fontenoy to Fair Oaks; but as a Priest, I could not for a moment forget my sacred calling, and, instead of peace, preach war. I have never, either publicly or privately, directly or indirectly, hindered any Catholic from going to this war. I will not do so now. I will do nothing to prevent the success of any recruiting officer who may think proper to come here. I was waited upon by two of the Captains now in the 105th regiment, (Capt. McMahon and Capt. Bradley). I told them just what I tell you. They thought it was the right course for a Priest to take.
>
> This mission is now very respectably represented in the army of the Union. I have given communion to many Catholics before leaving, and performed the last funeral rights of the Church over the lifeless remains of those who were sent home dead, and, no doubt, I may have the same to do again.
>
> You are aware that we have already had a war meeting here and that we have now a recruiting office. If you think proper to have a war meeting here, I will throw no obstacle in your way.[25]

Others, however, felt it their duty to give more active co-operation than this. Like Father Moore, Father Creedon of Auburn, is said to have used all his influence in recruiting several companies of soldiers. When at Newport, Rhode Island, he urged upon the pupils and friends of an Academy there, not only the necessity of correct Christian education, but also the necessity of impressing upon our youth their duty

to make any and all sacrifices to maintain the integrity of the Union and uphold the American Constitution.

> Let, if need be, the son forsake the paternal roof, and the father be separated from the son—let any sacrifice be made so that we lend all assistance in our power to uphold the constitution and laws. And for this purpose, let our children be educated into a Christian and enlightened patriotism.[26]

The flowers and the little flag, planted on the graves of the Veterans of the Civil War each Memorial Day, attest to what extent the call of patriotic duty was heeded by the Catholic citizens of the Union. In fact, the most distinguished military funeral during the War in Rochester was the burial of Colonel O. H. O'Rorke of the 140th regiment of Rochester from St. Bridget's Church, July 15, 1863, where just one year before the young soldier, a graduate of West Point and a tried military leader, had been married to his wife.[27] However, he was only one amongst thousands that lost their lives in the country's cause during that dark period of the Civil War, which moved the President of the Union, the Governor of the State, and the Mayor of the City to order a Day of Fast and Humiliation. Bishop Timon, as was his custom, at once notified his clergy how they and their people were to fulfil the order of the civil authority.

> We, hereby, request that on Sunday, 26th April, each pastor invite his flock to unite on Thursday, April 30th, with all our fellow-citizens in humiliation and prayer before the Lord. We require that in the Mass to be announced at the hour most convenient for the people the collect "Pro remissione peccatorum" be said, and that after the Mass for the people the 50th psalm, "Have Mercy", and the Litany of the Saints be read or sung.[28]

Conscription now became a necessity. Archbishop Hughes, on his return from his diplomatic mission to Europe in behalf of the United States, had boldly advocated this measure.

> If I had a voice in the councils of the country, I would say, let volunteering continue; if the three hundred thousand on your list be not enough this week, next week make a draft of three hundred thousand more. It is not cruel, this. This is mercy, this is humanity. Anything that will put an end to this drenching with blood the whole surface of the country, that will be humanity.[29]

PATRICK H. O'RORKE

(1) Cadet at West Point; (2) Young Army Officer; (3) Colonel of 140 N. Y. Infantry; (5) Monume of 140 N. Y. Infantry on Little Round Top, Gettysburg, where he was killed, July 2, 1863, leading a charge. (4) His widow, Mrs. Clara Bishop O'Rorke, a Madam of the Sacred Heart.

The Federal Government found it necessary repeatedly to fill up the gaps in the army by means of a draft. However, there was granted exemption from the draft for $300, so that wealthier men could easily escape its operation, while poorer citizens had no such avenue of escape from military service. This accounts in a measure for the New York draft riots, about which Archbishop Hughes wrote Dr. McCloskey, Rector of the American College in Rome, July 22, 1863.

> For the last week this city has been under the violence of a mob, in which it is understood that nearly two hundred soldiers and civilians have been killed, besides a vast number wounded. I invited the rioters to meet me on Friday at my house in Madison Avenue, which they did to the number of six or seven thousand. It was understood that no police or military should interfere with their coming or going home again. I harangued them for the better part of an hour, using all my powers of advice and persuasion to desist from violence. I amused them with ancedotes, interspersed in my observations, to put them in good humor and make them laugh a little. They cheered me all the time, and went home in the most peaceable manner. Many of those who were Catholics lingered around to get my benediction; after which had been given, they soon dispersed. There has been no trouble since in the city; but still there is a very uneasy feeling among the citizens.[30]

This was the great Archbishop's last public effort in the service of his country. The inroads made by disease on his vigorous constitution became painfully evident to his audience. He did not live to see the successful termination of the War, as he died January 3, 1864. The New York draft riots found no imitation in Rochester, where the draft was so peaceable that a military guard was not even required during its operation. However, to prevent any disturbance on the part of his people, Bishop Timon addressed the Laity in a Pastoral, dated from St. Joseph's Cathedral, Buffalo, on the Feast of our Lady of Carmel, A. D. 1863, which was read in every Church on the Sunday after its reception.

> In the name of the God of Charity, and through that charity which He, who called us to be your Bishop, has given us for you, through that charity of Christ in us, however unworthy, through which we would cheerfully give our life, if necessary, for each and every one of you, we beg of you, for Christ's sake and for the sake of all that you love in heaven and on earth, to abstain from all resis-

tance to law, from all riot, from all tumultuous gatherings, from all violence.

In New York, many misguided men, yet very few, we believe, practical Catholics, have shed blood in the late riot; and 'the voice of their brother's blood *cried to the Lord* from the earth.' Some of the rioters have fallen, more will, we fear, suffer much, many will, perhaps, be ruined; *all* will feel the painful sting of a guilty conscience during the rest of life and on their death bed; (if indeed rioters who aid in murder could die otherwise than it is written; 'He that shall kill, by the sword, must be killed by the sword.' Apoc. xiii, 10); they will either, through God's mercy, sincerely repent for their participation in the riot, or be lost forever. Dearly beloved, listen to the advice of a father who dearly loves you. Should there be a draft, fewer will be drafted than would probably be killed in an unholy struggle against law. And, if any of you be drafted, we will try to protect, aid, and bless in more ways than we know or dare name.

Withdraw yourselves, then, we beg and exhort, from all who would excite to association against the law of the land or to violence or mob law. For God's sake, for the sake of your dear families, for the sake of your fathers and mothers, whether still pilgrim on earth or mingling with 'the blessed crowd of witnesses', who from heaven watch over your conduct on earth, we exhort you to trust in God, and not to lend yourselves to any exciter to mob violence which so often leads to murder. If you follow this advice of your Father in Christ, we confidently assure you that: 'Whosoever shall follow this rule, *peace will be upon him and mercy*, and upon the Israel of God.' Gal. iv.[31]

The draft affected both clergy and laity, as the federal Government failed to admit the exemption of priests from military service by reason of their office, for which Bishop Timon had worked. Amongst the priests of the diocese, there were, in fact, drafted the Reverend Dennis English of Penn Yan, the Reverend R. Lee of Clifton Springs, the Very Reverend Gleason of Lockport, and Reverend George Schenleptokoff of Dansville. The congregations were anxious to retain the ministry of their pastors, and in each case were prompt to remit their exemption fee,[32] as the Govenor had told Bishop Timon, August 8, 1863, that he thought it better to pay. If Catholic priests could not abandon their flocks to serve as soldiers, the soldiers had the services of as many Catholic chaplains in the field as the Federal Government would appoint. However, there were not enough of them. When Bishop Timon was in Washington, February 25, 1862, he

visited Seward, Noell, Spaulding, Coring, and Stanton. According to the entry in his Diary, he proposed to them "to have a law to appoint a Catholic Chaplain . . . . . .in each brigade, they will try." His wishes were not fulfilled, and so shortly after he returned from Europe to Buffalo, he sent for Mr. Clapp, August 12, 1862: "Get him to write a letter to Washington for Chaplains." Nevertheless, provisions for a Catholic ministration to soldiers were still so deficient that ex-Colonel Fuller of LeRoy, "before and now Methodist preacher, ruling elder", could tell Bishop Timon, as the latter noted in his Diary, April 29, 1863: "how he rode 10 miles, and then 4, to get a priest for a dying Catholic and *could not*, though all along through Brigades—in which must have been thousands of Catholic Soldiers." More than a year later, at Elmira, September 5, 1864, Bishop Timon wrote to the Archbishop of New York for a priest for the Regiment of Catholics from New York. These soldiers were there to guard some 10,000 rebel prisoners, from whom he ordered $100 worth of books from Sadlier. He had visited them the day before when he prayed and preached for them. At the same time that he gives this information in his Diary, he also writes: "Major Coltat at length grants permission to Mr. Kavanagh to hear the confession of Soldiers on week days." The Federal Government took better care of bodily needs.

Great work was also done in the care of the sick and wounded soldiers by the Sisters of Charity. They volunteered their aid, and the Commanding General at Albany gladly availed himself of the offer in the military depot established there, when sick soldiers began to fill the hospital. Amongst the Sisters detailed for service in the State Capital, there was also one from St. Mary's Hospital, Rochester. When the Sisters were no longer needed, they were presented with a fine testimonial by the military authorities before their return to their respective charges.

State of New York,
Department of Volunteers,
Albany, July 2, 1861.

To the Sisters of Charity acting as Nurses at the Hospital:

The departure of all regiments stationed at this Depot and the great diminution in the number of sick, confined at the Hospital, render your valuable services no longer necessary. I cannot suffer

this occasion to pass without returning to you my sincere thanks for the promptness with which you responded to my request, and for the faithfulness and efficiency with which you have discharged your arduous duties. You came at a time when a large number of sick had been gathered in the Hospital, for whose comfort and care no adequate provision had previously been made. Crowded together in close compartments and obliged to submit to the negligence, or what was worse than negligence, of men unfitted by nature or cultivation for the proper performance of the delicate duties devolving on them, they stood in great need of just those services which have rendered your Order celebrated throughout the world. The natural instincts of woman, tender care and watchfulness which mark all her dealings with the sick, her wonderful prescience, comprehending the peculiar requirements of every case, and her untiring devotion directed to their fulfilment—these characteristics possessed in an eminent degree by the Sisters of Charity soon produced a signal change. I can assure you that your labors are held in high estimation as well by those who are in a measure responsible for the health of the soldiers as by those who have been the immediate recipients of your favors, and on behalf of all, I again return you my sincere and heartfelt thanks.

I have the honor to be, Ladies,

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
JNO. F. RATHBONE,
Brig. Gen. Commanding.[33]

This did not end the work of the Sisters of Charity during the Civil War, where their services were soon required in the field as well as in the military hospitals. Towards the end of the year, two Sisters of Charity left St. Patrick's Asylum to join two others in Buffalo. All four were assigned to St. Louis where they were needed in the military hospitals of that city.[34] At the time, St. Mary's Hospital was still the only hospital in operation in Western New York outside of those in Buffalo. As volunteers came straggling home from the war, sick and disabled, they found a refuge there whenever they desired it. Mr. John Cline, the Overseer of the Poor, in reply to some criticism, published what he had done for the sick poor, and the sick, wounded soldiers of the City in connection with St. Mary's Hospital.

No person in our city regards the Hospital you speak of in a more favorable light than myself. I am satisfied that the sick could not be better cared for, even if they had pecuniary means to

provide for themselves, than they are now at St. Mary's Hospital. To show you what is being done for the sick, I will give you some statistics. Since my appointment to the office of Overseer of the Poor, I have sent 53 patients to St. Mary's Hospital, and in referring back to the same dates last year, I find but 37 sent to the same institution. I wish to say further that I have sent only one sick person belonging to the city to the County House, and that was by request. My instructions from the County Superintendents are not to send any of the sick poor belonging to the county to said Hospital, as they have provided a Hospital for the purpose.[35]

Powerful influences were soon able to provide for all sick soldiers of the district, whether city or county residents, in St. Mary's Hospital. In fact, the War Department made a contract with Mother Hieronymo for the establishment of a Soldiers' Ward in the Hospital. After the first installment of soldiers had arrived there, a casual visitor to the institution gave the public an account of it, April 3, 1863.

There are 24 sick and wounded soldiers there now, and 15 more are on the way to arrive here this week. Arrangements are made to accommodate all that may be sent. Those at present in the Institution look cheerful and happy. Those able were engaged in reading or some amusement, while one, a confirmed disciple of Paganini, inspired his comrades with the eloquence of his fiddle. They are nearly all from the surrounding towns. We noticed a bright boy of five or six years old, who had been brought to see his father. He obtained permission to remain with him until tomorrow and was very desirous to become a permanent patient so that he could be with him all the time! The table in the soldiers' ward is supplied with magazines and miscellaneous reading matter sent in by benevolent citizens.[36]

This visitor was also favored with a glimpse of the plans drawn by the architect, A. J. Warner, for the enlargement of St. Mary's Hospital. He declared that the work, "when completed will be one of the finest public buildings, an ornament and blessing to the city, and a monument to the zeal and charity of a woman, who has, although in the world, banished herself from its so-called pleasures and devoted her life to the care and interest of the sick." He made public a general description of the plans.

The main building to go up will face Buffalo St., and have a front of 250 ft. The front will be exclusively of white Medina cutstone, and the side, rear, and wing walls will be of Bull's Head cutstone.

> At the West end, a wing corresponding with the present building, 50 by 90 ft., will extend to the rear. The architectural beauty of the front is divided into several features. The principal elevation in the center is to be 53 by 53, four stories high, suitably capped. Next and extending 68 ft. on each side by 49 deep, the height will be only three stories. Then at each corner, there will be a tower shaped and topped elevations, each 30 ft. front, and four stories high, extending back to the wings. Of the division of rooms, it is unnecessary to speak at this time in detail. The wards, private rooms, operating rooms, bath rooms, cuisine department, chapel, &c., &c., will be of the first order and excelled by those of no other institution in this country.[37]

At the time the excavations for the foundation were about completed. The stone, except for the facing, the sand, in fact, nearly all the necessary material was already on the ground or about to be placed there. This gave reasonable hope for the completion of the building before the expiration of another year. Work advanced so rapidly as to admit the laying of the corner-stone with impressive ceremonies by Bishop Timon, June 28, 1863, in the presence of several thousand citizens who assembled for the occasion, nothwithstanding the intense heat.[38]

Building operations even on so large a scale were not allowed to interfere with the care of the sick, especially of the wounded soldiers. A train of Albany soldiers reached Rochester from the front in a condition "disgusting beyond description. We believe these sick men have been most cruelly neglected by those who ought to have cared for them before they reached this city." The cases that needed immediate attention were at once removed to St. Mary's Hospital, where the Sisters were day and night by the bedside of the sick, ministering to their wants. When the news of this affair reached Albany, the private secretary of the Governor, Mr. John F. Seymour, was dispatched to Rochester, where, in company with Mayor Bradstreet, he visited the sick soldiers of the Albany regiment at St. Mary's Hospital. He hastened to assure Mother Hieronymo that all expense incurred in the care of these soldiers would be paid, and he expressed great satisfaction in finding that they had been made so comfortable by the Sisters.[39]

Dr. Backus, the United States Surgeon in Rochester, now advised the Sisters to prepare accommodations for 100 soldiers, as he expected that the large number of sick and wounded soldiers, who were permitted to come home on furlough from hospitals elsewhere towards the end of 1863, would be allowed to remain at St. Mary's Hospital until they were again fit to return to service. Although quarters were made ready for them, orders came from Washington requiring the soldiers to report again in the Hospitals whence they had come. This left only 70 soldiers in St. Mary's Hospital. The Sisters naturally regretted that the many sick and wounded from this section of the country, scattered through hospitals from Washington to Rhode Island, could not be brought nearer their homes. Nevertheless, the great addition to the Hospital had not been made with the expectation that the Government would be ready to incur the additional expense of their transportation to Rochester. Mother Hieronymo planned to be ready for the demands that would be made upon the hospital at the end of the war, which could not but leave behind an immense number of crippled and suffering men. The soldiers manifested the greatest gratitude towards the Sisters for their self-sacrificing care of their wants, but they complained to a visiting Protestant gentleman "that so little attention has been paid them by our citizens." He communicated his feelings in the matter to the public at large.

> True, their every want is cared for, and they are as happily fixed as they would desire. But it would seem as if a body of seventy sick and wounded, belonging to regiments raised hereabouts and sent home from the field for treatment and recuperation might claim a visit and a few delicacies from the charitable. Are they not entitled to participation in the benefits to be derived from the various enterprises for soldiers' relief? Large amounts are raised for Hospital Relief, and contributions are sent away for distribution among sick and wounded soldiers in the hospitals of distant localities. Surely, those sent home to us and in our midst ought to be worthy to be looked after a little. On Thanksgiving Day, when good things were served up to the soldiers in hospitals elsewhere, as we noticed by the journals, not a single thought or turkey seems to have been bestowed by outsiders upon those in St. Mary's. Let not Christmas and New Year's pass in similar neglect.[40]

The City authorities now began to move in the interest of the absent wounded and sick soldiers of the Rochester District. The Common Council sent a Committee, composed of Messrs. N. C. Bradstreet, Ambrose Cram, and George W. Parsons, to Washington to have soldiers of Western New York sent to the local hospitals in the City.[41] St. Mary's was no longer the only hospital in Rochester, as the Executive Committee had declared the City Hospital open for the reception of patients, February 13, 1864, the management of which was given by the Trustees to the Rochester Female Charitable Society.[42] The mission to Washington was successful, and the necessary order for the removal of the soldiers to Rochester was given by the Surgeon General.[43] Three hundred and seventy-five arrived by train June 7, 1864 of whom about 60 went to the City Hospital and the balance to St. Mary's. They were transferred to the Hospitals in street cars and hacks. The hackmen, who were not engaged, volunteered their services, and the cartmen generally came forward to convey the baggage free of charge.[44] June 17, 1864, the morning Erie train brought 73 more sick and wounded soldiers from New York, and Street cars took them to St. Mary's Hospital.[45] Feverish activity was necessary to prepare accommodations for all these soldiers at St. Mary's Hospital. Mother Hieronymo sent out an appeal for help, May 30, 1864:

> As we expect the wounded soldiers here at any moment, we require all the assistance we can get to make everything ready for their reception. We know that the ladies are busily employed at the work for our coming bazaar, and, therefore, feel reluctant to make any further demand on them; yet our present want of immediate assistance is so urgent, that we have to extend to them an invitation to meet at the Hospital tomorrow (Tuesday) as early as may be convenient for them, to assist us in sewing bedding—sheets, pillow cases, &c.[46]

This meant a large outlay of money, with material at war prices, and a great deal of labor. The burden was shouldered without hesitation, the merchants giving credit, and the labor was performed by and under the supervision of one woman, who at the same time supervised the care of several hundred patients and had to oversee the work on the new hospital buildings. The wards for the soldiers were made ready in the

new hospital building—in the west wing "which is the same size as the original hospital building, three stories high and 120 feet long and 60 feet deep, and in the front section joining the eastern tower and the main center." The announcement was made then that by July 1st the hospital accommodations for soldiers would be increased to 600; that the completion of the whole hospital in August would provide room for 1500 patients. This meant work on a much larger scale. Before this new arrangement was reached with the Federal Government by the City authorities, the work in behalf of the soldiers had but small proportions. This is evident from a report printed May 31, 1864: "On the 10th of March, 1863, the managers of St. Mary's Hospital entered into an arrangement with the general government to care for sick and wounded soldiers. Since that time 414 have been admitted. Of these, 344 were from time to time discharged, 26 died, and 44 remain."[47] Now, however, there were hundreds of sick and wounded soldiers at St. Mary's Hospital. They again enlisted the sympathy of a Protestant gentleman, who made a public statement in their behalf.

> The soldiers are receiving all the attention which the best regulated Hospital affords, but they do not, of course, receive many things which contribute to their comfort and more speedy recovery. If these soldiers had remained in the army Hospitals, they would have had a share in the donations sent forward from this place and other places by the Commissions. Now, however, in coming here, they are likely to want these things. A Protestant lady has called upon us to say that all that has yet been sent to the soldiers at St. Mary's was from Catholic ladies who have done well, but the patients are so numerous that all cannot be supplied. The City Hospital has but few soldiers compared with the other, hence they are likely to receive more attention from the ladies. Let this matter be attended to at once that all soldiers may receive the bounty of our citizens.[48]

Mrs. L. Gardner, Corresponding Secretary of the Rochester Soldier Aid Society, stated in reply, by order of the Association, that the work of this society was laid out with reference to the soldiers far distant in Carolina, Virginia, &c. Nevertheless, it had done more than this in regard to the other Hospital, as she herself declared:

> This Society has promptly and liberally responded to all appeals from the lady managers and surgeons of the City Hospital; but it is the opinion of many of these (and who are better qualified to judge?) that the soldiers here should be made the special care of our citizens and of the adjoining towns; and in this opinion the "noble" Sisters of St. Mary's Hospital concur. Many do not give to the Soldier Relief because of their suspicions of the disposition of the funds by the Sanitary Commission or by the Christian Commission. Let them give to soldiers here . . . . We feel that there should be greater interest and responsibility on the part of a larger portion of the people here with regard to our soldiers in these hospitals. If all, who can as well as not, will interest themselves and do as much as a few are doing, we should not hear the surgeons of the City Hospital or the Sisters of St. Mary's say: "We have not enough clean bandages or lint to dress the wounds this morning," or in fact not enough of anything.[49]

Mother Hieronymo was certainly not at fault, as she had no hesitation to beg for her soldier patients, and the *Union and Advertiser* was ever at her disposition as a ready means to reach the public. Thus, she advertised a feast for the soldiers in a quaint style, July 7, 1864:

> Know all men and women by these presents, that the soldiers at St. Mary's Hospital are to have a Holiday feast upon next Sunday.
>
> All charitably disposed persons are requested to contribute something towards this dinner in the shape of the delicacies of the season. Cherries and green peas are especially solicited. All convalescents are very nice in their appetities, and very querulous in case they are neglected. We must always be vigilantly careful and charitable towards our sick soldiers, or else they grow petulant, using the double privilege of forgotten heroes and uncared for convalescents.[50]

The cheerful tone of this notice would hardly make one suspect the burden Mother Hieronymo was carrying to keep these men. When Bishop Timon visited the Hospital, October 10, 1864, he found her "just starting for Washington. Government owes her $30,000." Nevertheless, the work of the Hospital was kept up to standard. Early in 1865, the Grand Jury gave a good report on the care of the sick in the Rochester Hospitals in its review of the Public Institutions, located in the City. It gives a succinct statement of the relative amount of work accomplished at the time in St. Mary's Hospital and in the Rochester City Hospital.

St. Mary's Hospital, under the direction of Sr. Hieronymo, which has recently been completed, making a building 250 ft. long by 60 ft. in width, and four and a half stories high, is of stone, is one which cannot be excelled in the State. Its wards and rooms are kept perfectly neat and clean, and the ventilation is on the most approved plan. At present, there are in the Hospital 398 wounded and sick soldiers, under the charge of most competent physicians and surgeons, who are sent there from the armies of the United States. Since the 7th day of June, 1864, there have been received into the Hospital 1800 soldiers, who have received kind nursing and attention at the hands of the Sisters in charge. One hundred and twenty-five citizens are also taken care of at present in the Hospital, some of whom are now taken care of without charge. The buildings are new, and constructed on the most approved plans; and it is difficult to see in what respects the management of the Hospital or the comfort of its unfortunate inmates could be improved. On inquiry of the soldiers who are there, we universally found them contented and perfectly satisfied with the manner in which they are provided for.

The Rochester City Hospital, located on West Avenue, is a new building, now nearly completed, and reflects great credit upon the city. The want of such a hospital has long been felt. It is now used for the purpose of taking care of wounded soldiers, of whom there are now therein 84, who are as well taken care of as could be desired. There are also 23 citizen patients, male and female, who are provided for in this institution with an abundance of food, comfortable apartments and beds as well as medical attendance. The Hospital has accommodations for 106 patients.[51]

Some months later the Civil War was brought to a successful close for the North, especially through the military genius of Major General U. S. Grant and Major General Sherman. The joy which then filled every loyal heart was soon filled with sorrow at the news of the assassination of President Lincoln, April 14, 1865. By order of Bishop Timon, Joseph Sorg, Secretary, issued the following to the churches and people of the Diocese:

A fiendish conspiracy and awful crimes have just changed a nation's joy for glorious victory into deepest sorrow. The President of these United States has been cruelly murdered. For us, the grief; for him, scarcely could he have died at a moment more sure to endear his memory to a grateful people. Under his administration, the victory over the greatest rebellion had been almost consumated; and the blessed mercy, with which he seemed disposed to meet the return of the offenders to the Union, promised a recon-

struction holy, noble, and permanent. God will reward him, for He said: "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

In obedience to the call of our city authorities here on Thursday, 10th inst., and in other localities on the day there fixed upon by due authority, we require that on or about 10 A. M., a solemn service be held in each church, and the Mass *"Pro Remissione Peccatorum"* be said or sung, to pray that God will not visit on our loved country worse than the parricide committed and the horrid murders attempted.

We also beg our dearly beloved to pray most earnestly that our good and merciful God would spare the life of the Secretary of State, and of the Assistant Secretary, who now languish under the wounds inflicted by an assassin.[52]

The first National Independence Day after the close of the War meant more to the patriots of the country than any they had previously celebrated. It was also appropriately commemorated upon the grounds of St. Mary's Hospital by the raising of the American Flag to the top of the new Liberty Pole, which had been erected by the invalid soldiers of the institution. The Union Blues, several detachments of United States Troops, benevolent societies in *regalia,* and a vast concourse of people witnessed the ceremony, over which his Honor, Mayor Moore, presided. The Flag was raised to its place by Major A. T. Lee, U. S. A., amidst the cheers of the assembled multitude, and an artillery salute from a section of the Grays' Battery. President Anderson of Rochester University spoke on the symbolism of the flag. Speeches were also made by the Reverend F. W. Holland, Capt. Charles B. Hill, and General J. H. Martindale.[53] Evidently the war atmosphere still surrounded St. Mary's Hospital, but an advertisement, published September 13, 1865, indicated almost a complete return to the normal conditions of civilian life.

ST. MARY'S RETREAT FOR INVALIDS, ROCHESTER, N. Y.

This retreat under the management and care of the Sisters of Charity, having, by the close of the war, been relieved of its military inmates, is now prepared to offer to the invalid public superior and unsurpassed facilities for the treatment of patients. The Buildings are all new, having been erected within the past eight years. They are of the finest Medina and Blue Stone—the main building presenting a front of the former of 250 feet, with wings extending back to the depth of 120 feet, all from three to four and a half stories high. The situation is upon the highest and most delightful ground in

the city, upon West Avenue, at "West End", among the suburban residences of the most wealthy inhabitants, with street cars passing the door at short intervals during the day. An excellent view of Rochester, Lake Ontario, and the surrounding country may be obtained from the premises. The rooms are spacious, and can be had singly or in suites, furnished or unfurnished, as may be desired. The Retreat is so arranged that patients can have all the seclusion and accommodations of a first class hotel. Connected with the Retreat is a farm four miles distant in the country, from which pure milk, vegetables, &c., are supplied, and to and from the grounds of which patients can be conveyed in the carriages for recreation. In the Retreat, the usual approved facilities for amusement and healthful exercise will be supplied. The institution is well supplied with water, baths, etc. The firm of Sherlock and Sloan is now engaged in placing the steam apparatus, by which the building will be thoroughly heated. Attached to the engine (built by Woodbury and Booth) of this machinery is a pump with power to force water to all parts of the house. The building will also be lighted by gas. The Surgical and Medical corps in attendance numbers the best and most celebrated Surgeons and Physicians in Western New York, but patients can make selections to suit themselves. Belonging to the Retreat will be Galvanic Batteries and Propelling Chairs Those patients, requiring the use of these, will have a hall 250 feet long in which to excercise. The nurses are those who devote their lives to the care of the sick as a labor of love and mercy, and their motives and experience are offered to attest their skill and fidelity.

Terms—From $1 per day upwards, according to accommodations furnished. Applicants for admission will be met with carriages at any of the depots, or conveyed from any part of the city, upon notice being given. For further particulars, etc., address:

SISTER SERVANT,
St. Mary's Retreat,
Rochester, N. Y.

Although great expenses were entailed in bringing St. Mary's Hospital from its humble beginnings to this state of perfection, the debt of the Hospital was but $37,843 in May, 1866. Very many were under the impression that the Hospital had become debt free through profits made from the maintenance and treatment of such a large number of soldiers during part of the Civil War. As the indebtedness and the current expenses pressed heavily upon the management of the Hospital, Mother Hieronymo hastened to disabuse the public of any such notion.

Up to June, 1864, the number of soldiers admitted to the Hospital was comparatively small. Everything required for their main-

tenance and accommodation was steadily advancing in price, so that the contract agreed upon with the Government was insufficient to cover expenditures. In June, 1864, we received a large number of sick and wounded soldiers from hospitals in and around Washington. To prepare accommodations for them, it became necessary to incur great expense in purchasing furniture, bedsteads, bedding &c.,—items of expense which all housekeepers will recollect were at the time extraordinarily high. And though the Government advanced the rate for maintenance, yet we were compelled at the time to increase our expenses, not in the matter of maintenance alone, but in improvements in and around the Hospital, which were considered necessary for the proper accommodation for the sick and wounded soldiers. To meet these heavy expenses, it was necessary that all the beds should be occupied. A great number of them were continually vacant—the men being absent on furlough. This was specially so during the Presidential election of 1864, when all who could possibly go to their homes availed themselves of the month's furlough then granted by the Government to all soldiers in hospitals. It has been supposed by many that the greater number absent on furlough, the greater the gain of the Hospital. This is a great mistake, as Hospitals received no pay while a man was absent on furlough; so that instead of deriving benefit by absence of patients on furlough, the Hospital lost.

We mention these facts to show why it is we are at present embarassed so much, and to invoke the spirit of charity and benevolence, so frequently and freely manifested by this community in behalf of our Hospital to aid and assist in relieving us from part of the debt that requires early settlement. We owe to Banks and private individuals about $6,000. This amount we hope to realize by our annual Fair, which will take place about the 1st of July . . .

At no period since the establishment of the Hospital did we need the encouragement and assistance of the community more than at present, when, to meet the anticipated advent of cholera, our exertions in behalf of the afflicted should be untrammeled by any other embarassing cares. It is needless to intimate that, during the presence of such a fearful epidemic, the Hospital will be called upon to discharge its obligations to the public—to the poor particularly. Now is the time to put it in a position to do so worthily and effectively. In many places, the local authorities have already taken active measures to meet the requirements of their public institutions, but that the authorities have thought of such measures we have not heard. We do hope that should such a calamity as cholera afflict our community this summer, they will make more generous provision for the poor than they do at present. The allowance of $1.25 for the poor of Monroe County and $1.50 for those of the city cannot and does not now pay for the maintenance and medical treatment of each patient. It very frequently happens that one prescription

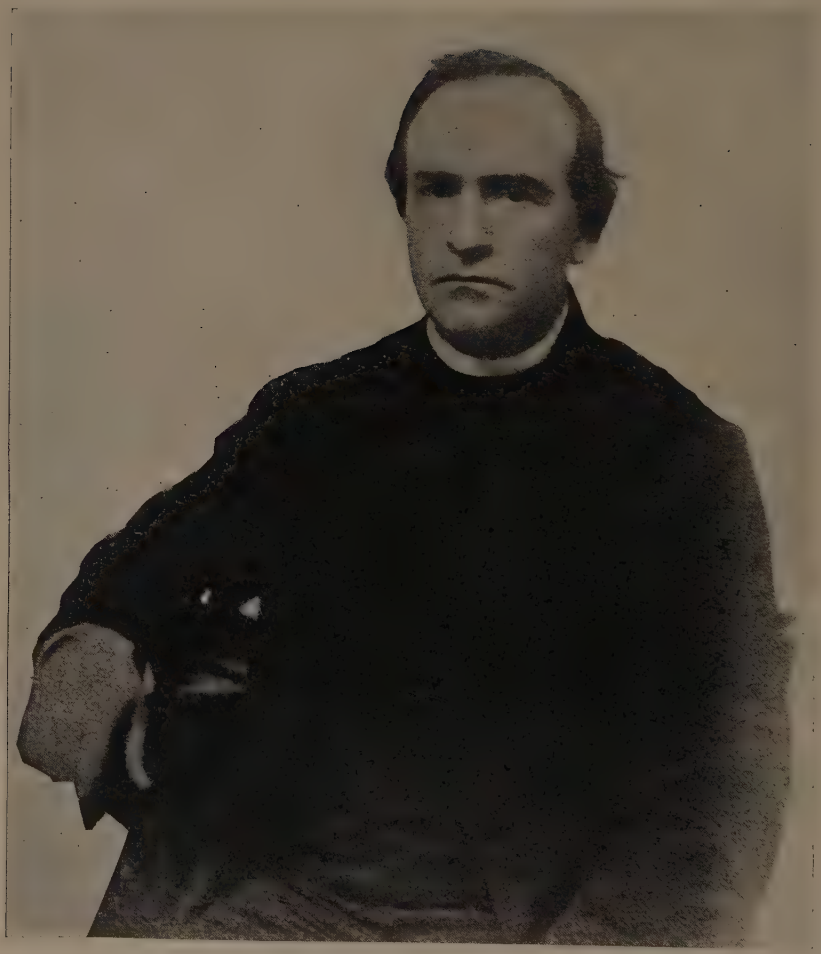
for a single day will cost more than is allowed by the city for the maintenance and treatment of that patient for a week.

There are now in the Hospital 219 patients; 81 of these are not resident of this city or county, consequently we receive no recompense whatever for their support or care. Can we shut our doors against indigent and sick because they have no means?[54]

There had been no lack of support of St. Mary's Hospital even during War times. A Fair, September 29 to August 4, 1862, brought $3677.97 net proceeds.[55] The Picnic in the Summer of 1863 produced $545.45 clear of all expenses,[56] and the Grand Concert in St. Mary's Church, towards the end of the same year, gave an additional $383 to the Hospital.[57] A special effort was made the next Summer, when the new Buildings were nearing completion, and Mother Hieronymo made known the empty state of her treasury. It was resolved, to erect a temporary wooden structure on the vacant lot, corner State and Allen streets. The plan was executed by the architect of St. Mary's Hospital, Mr. A. J. Warner, who designed the building to accommodate between two to three thousand persons. Committees were appointed to raise a special fund for the expenses, which were not so very high, as much of the lumber was later used in finishing St. Mary's Hospital.[58] The effort was well worth while, as the net proceeds of this Ladies' Bazaar for St. Mary's Hospital amounted to $8,396.[59] Besides these sums realized by public means, there were also many private donations of money and of other things in the course of the year.[60] Nevertheless, a burdensome debt still remained, and the Fair of 1866, for which Mother Hieronymo had made such an eloquent plea, did not bring the much needed $6000; the whole amount only totaled $2,823.51. This was immedately applied as follows: For coal $600, wood $500, and part payment on mortgage $1723.[61] Although still in debt, St. Mary's Hospital was solidly founded by the time the episcopate of the first Bishop of Buffalo was drawing to an end. This was due to Mother Hieronymo's wonderful energy and zeal and to the devoted co-operation which she was able to find in the people of Rochester.

Bishop Timon, whose health had been breaking down, made the announcement that Rochester would soon have a Bishop, and become the seat of a new Diocese of the Catholic

Church, when he preached in St. Patrick's Church, September 9, 1866.[62] The matter was settled at the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, where Bishop McQuaid was practically appointed to the new See. Long before the official confirmation of the appointment was received in America from Rome, Bishop Timon had gone to his reward in heaven, fortified with all the sacraments of the Church. He died April 16, 1867.



BERNARD J. McQUAID
Pastor of Madison, N. J.
1848-1853

BOOK III

FATHER McQUAID IN NEW JERSEY

1848 - 1868

Chapter XI

THE PASTOR OF MADISON

At a time, when the majority of Catholic Priests and Bishops in the United States were of foreign birth, Bishop McQuaid found pleasure in emphasizing the fact that he was a native of the country, having been born in the City of New York. Old St. Patrick's Cathedral, between Mott and Mulberry Streets at Prince Street, claims the baptism of Bishop McQuaid, and incomplete records are made to account for the absence of his name from its Baptismal Book. There is, in fact, no record of his baptism elsewhere in New York City. At the time of his consecration, the *New York Herald* published a statement that "the Right Reverend gentleman was baptized by Bishop Connolly, the first Bishop of New York; confirmed by Bishop Dubois, the second Bishop of New York; ordained by Archbishop Hughes, the third Bishop of New York; and consecrated bishop by Archbishop McCloskey."[1] Bishop McQuaid's birth is usually dated December 15, 1823, but the first extant record of his early life puts the event two years later.[2] From New York City, his father, Bernard McQuaid, moved to Jersey City, and settled in what was then known as Paulus Hook, where he found employment in the glass works, owned and operated by George and Phenice Dummel. Misfortune visited the family here. The Record of Burials in St. Patrick's Cemetery, under the date, June 15, 1827, has the name of Mary McQuade, years 33, place of Nativity: Ireland, and place of death: Powles Hook. The same book, March 27, 1829, records the burial of an infant, Patrick McQuade, three months old, with New Jersey assigned as the place of its nativity and death. If this is the child of Bernard McQuaid, as seems to be the case, the widower married again, giving a stepmother to his family. Bishop McQuaid had in his possession, at the time of his death, an English Bible that belonged to Robert McQuaid, whose name in gold letters is stamped on the front cover. On the Family Record, Bishop

McQuaid entered, with lead pencil, these two names under Deaths: Robert, September 15, 1841; Catherine, December 5, 1845. There is no other entry in the Bible, from which further information might be gleaned for the intimate history of the McQuaid family.

During those early years, Catholics in that part of New Jersey had no church of their own, and so were forced to go to New York for Mass, either to St. Peter's in Barclay Street or to old St. Patrick's in Mott Street. This last church was preferred to the other, because Philip O'Brien had a house at the corner of Mott and Hester Streets, where old friends and acquaintances, and the lately arrived immigrants were wont to meet after Mass.[3] Mrs. O'Brien apparently also had a big heart for the people of her old country in the new land where they all had settled. However, in the course of time, the Catholics on the Jersey side of the Hudson River took steps to secure the erection of a church there. Most of those not employed in the glass factory were working for the American Pottery Works, conducted by David Henderson & Co. A committee of three, Bernard McQuaid, Thomas McGuigan, and Thomas McCann, waited upon the proprietors of both factories for assistance in the understanding. They at once agreed to help in order to encourage the men in their employ. The Associates of the Jersey Land Company were then petitioned for a church site, and a lot was donated them for St. Peter's Church on Grand Street, where the first Mass, however, was only celebrated on Christmas Day, 1835.[4] Bishop Dubois did not wait till then to provide these zealous Catholics with Mass. As soon as he heard of the steps taken to secure a church, he determined to arrange a monthly Mass for them. Accordingly, on the first Sunday of Advent, the last of November, 1829, holy Mass was celebrated for the first time in Paulus Hook. It was said in the house of Bishop McQuaid's father on Sussex Street, and the Bishop, late in life, remembered that he was put out of the house to make room for his elders, to his great wonderment and surprise, as he then did not know what Mass meant, and peeked through the shutters to see what was going on.[5]

Three years later another misfortune came upon the McQuaid family. The *Bergen County Courier*, May 9, 1832,

MOTHER ELIZABETH BOYLE
brought up Bernard McQuaid, 1832-1839, in St. Patrick's Orphan Aslyum, New York City.

ST. PATRICK'S ORPHAN ASYLUM, PRINCE ST., NEW YORK

informed its readers of the tragedy, indicating its character by the word prefaced to the account:

> Horrible.—An inquest was held last Wednesday, May 2, before Stephen H. Lutkins, Esquire, in this city, on the body of Barney McQuaid.—Verdict of the Jury "that the deceased came to his death by blows inflicted on him by John McCosker." Both of these men were employed at the Jersey Glass Factory. McCosker has fled.

The Record of Burials, 11th Street Cemetery, New York City, under the date, May 3, 1832, has the name of Bernard McQuade, Years 32, place of nativity: Ireland, place of death: New Jersey. Now, life with his stepmother became such that Bishop McQuaid, even to the day of his death, could not shake off the bitter memories of the woman who abused him terribly in his childhood. All this misery came to an end, when Mrs. O'Brien brought him to the Prince Street Orphan Asylum, New York City, where he found a home with the Sisters of Charity. A terse entry on the books of the Institution has the following Record of his life there:

> Bernard McQuaid, aged 7 years, entered the R. C. O. A. Aug 20, 1832, and was discharged June 4th, 1839, aged 14 years. He was sent to Chambly College, Canada.

These brief words do not convey the significance of the kind influences, which were at work in the Asylum at Prince Street, preparing Bernard McQuaid for his life's mission. He himself never forgot his debt of gratitude, which he warmly attested in a letter to Mother Xavier, on the occasion of her Diamond Jubilee at St. Elizabeth's Mother House, Convent Station, New Jersey. The letter is dated February 14, 1907.

> Dear Mother,
>
> Unless I am mistaken, about these days, your mind and thought will turn back sixty years to the time, when you entered into the service of our good Lord, to do His Will in all things, to the best of your ability and His gracious help. About the same time, Mother Elizabeth was a prudent and wise guide to you and to me, and to all who had the blessing of coming under her gentle and even piety and saintly example. It is a great favor to have had such a friend in one's early trials and not over-sure steps. How little she and you and I dreamed of what was in the future! For one thing, we learned that what was not possible to the too self-reliant, was always attainable in time by the steady and persevering fidelity to the cause, to which life was consecrated. As we look back on these long

years, and see what grew up under our superintendence, there is no pride or vain-glory in self, for we are sensible enough to see whence the power and the success. When others are loud in our praise, as is filial and dutiful, we are conscious that it was God who stood by us through doubtful and dark hours, and brought victory out of seeming failure.

Excuse me for linking my life with yours, but just now in looking over my past, I wonder at my length of days, for in my first days of priestly work, I was a frail and delicate man, apparently destined to a short career, and you were not over-strong. And now, if God would only give a happy ending to our long life-work, we shall have no more to ask him.

Permit me to join with your devoted children in their prayers and joy for their chief who has led them along the road that ends in the haven of eternal rest above. No one can do so more sincerely than the one who witnessed the poverty and small things of the first days of St. Elizabeth's at Newark and at Madison.

With kind remembrances to my old friends, and prayers for the faithful souls, who, living but a short while, gave their all to our common Master and Saviour, believe me, dear Mother,

Very sincerely in Christ,

B. J. MCQUAID.[6]

Mother Xavier's answer made Bishop McQuaid fear that his letter moved her more than he had intended, and so he hastened to explain, February 20, 1907, how it was that he wrote in that vein.

For a while before writing, I let my mind go back sixty years ago, when I was preparing for ordination and you were in your novitiate. It was Mother Elizabeth who received you into the community and under her you received your first lesson in religion. To her I owed my vocation, and without her help, I could never have found my way to the priesthood. Then so early in our religious life, we came together as, I might say, fellow-workers in Christ's service.[7]

After Bernard McQuaid finished his preparatory studies in Chambly College, Canada, he took up higher studies at St. Joseph's Seminary, Fordham, which was still in its infancy at the time. The long years of study were lightened somewhat by the kindness of the Sisters to the ecclesiastical student in his vacations. If there was no bed available, a shake-down was readily arranged in their chaplain's quarters for the young student's comfort. Even in his old days, Bishop McQuaid often related how he was able to do a good turn to

FORDHAM, NEW YORK

the Sisters. Their chaplain was also in charge of a penitentiary or jail. The good man prepared a forcible sermon each Sunday for the criminals against the most grievous sins of the Decalogue. Not feeling disposed to prepare a second sermon, he preached the same sermon to the nuns and the children in their charge. The Sisters did not know how to put a stop to this without offence to their chaplain. The young student, however, undertook the task which required considerable diplomacy. He led the chaplain to complain of the great amount of Sunday work thrust upon him, and then counselled him to omit the sermon to the Sisters and children. The ruse succeeded, and Bernard McQuaid received the grateful thanks of the nuns in return. These friendly relations with the Sisters of Charity also occasioned his first visit to his future episcopal city. St. Patrick's Girls' Orphan Asylum in Rochester was given over to the care of these Sisters in 1845.[8] In June of the year following, Sister Elizabeth was ordered by the Mother of her community to set out, at her earliest convenience, and to assume charge of the orphan asylum in Rochester. While she was at the head of the Institution for six or seven months, Bernard McQuaid took advantage of his summer's vacation to pay a visit to the Asylum in Rochester. He was led later to misdate the event three years earlier than the arrival of the Sisters of Charity in Rochester. The fact of his visit proves that Bernard McQuaid did not forget his benefactress even at that distance from the place of his studies.

Despite the kindnesses of his friends, the hardships of college and seminary life, in the pioneer days of Bishop McQuaid's preparation for the Holy Priesthood, ruined his health. Fellow-students, big, burly, healthy immigrants from Ireland, looked with contempt on his thin, emaciated frame, and declared loud enough for him to hear: "They'll never make priests of such scrawny Yanks." Not one of these attained to the ripe, old age of Bishop McQuaid, who often alluded to the occurrence, exclaiming with a smile and an excusable bit of pride: "I have downed them all."[10] Nevertheless, there was reason then to fear that the young levite would fall a victim to consumption. He himself wrote to a friend, December 21, 1906: "Sixty-three years ago friends expected to put me under the sod."[11] This was, therefore, in

1843, which was about the time he left Chambly College. He did not end his seminary course any better. Only a short time before his ordination, Archbishop Bayley, then President of Fordham College, saved his life, when seized with a hemmorrhage from the lungs, by a timely application of an old-fashioned remedy.[12] Thus, he lived to be ordained by Bishop Hughes on the Feast of the Holy Name of Jesus, January 16, 1848.[13]

Priesthood did not at once restore robust health to Father McQuaid, as he attests in writing to Mother Xavier: "In my first days of priestly work, I was a frail and delicate man, apparently destined to a short career."[14] However, weakness of body did not lessen strength of soul. Taunted later with his poverty by a member of an angry mob, Bishop McQuaid confessed:

> Well, I was poor, and I am poor. And well do I remember, my friends, when in the first year of my priesthood I promised Almighty God that no year of my life should ever find me the owner of $25 beyond my clothes and books, and I can thank God that I did not break my promise during my twenty years of priesthood. I have never had stocks and mortgages, houses and farms.[15]

This strong spirit of self-sacrifice led to greater things in his care of souls, to which he was soon assigned. For the pressing needs of the missions at the time did not allow much delay before the appointment of newly ordained priests. Archbishop Bayley, also then secretary to Bishop Hughes, was soon instructed to order Father McQuaid to report at St. Mary's Church, Grand Street, New York City. The Secretary knew that the appointment in the City would mean speedy death for the young priest, and so he refrained from notifying Father McQuaid, until a favorable opportunity offered to open the matter again with the Bishop. Father Bayley then advised that he be sent to Morris County, "where the air is pure, and where he will have plenty of out-door exercise." Accordingly, Father McQuaid was made assistant to Father Senez at Madison, January 21, 1848. When the Pastor resigned in April to go to his native land, the assistant became the Pastor of Madison, retaining the position even after the return of Father Senez to the Diocese towards the end of the Summer.[16]

ST. VINCENT'S CHURCH
Madison, N. J.

Founded Anno Domini 1839
Father McQuaid's first parish.

CHURCH OF THE ASSUMPTION
Morristown, N. J.

One of the outmissions; the first church built by Father McQuaid in 1848, with a school in the basement.

This parish then comprised all of the counties of Morris, Sussex, and Warren, and parts of Union, and Essex; there are only three more counties in the present Diocese of Newark. In this vast district, Madison was the only place that had a church needing no repairs, and well supplied with vestments. Father McQuaid, "with his own money, purchased the two horses and carriages, and all his furniture from Father Senez."[17] The two horses seem to have been a necessity to enable the Pastor to reach his distant missions. His *Register of Baptisms* from February 20, 1848, to March 18, 1849, shows how thoroughly the district was covered, as the sacrament was administered within that time to persons of the following places besides Madison: Franklin Furnace, Speedwell, Springfield, Irondale, Morristown, Mt. Hope, Libertyville, Boonton, Dover, Chatham, Stonyhill, Summit, Hanover, Millville, Potter's Falls, Stanhope, Mine Hill, Succasunna, Scotch Main, Cat's Swamp, Allamuchy, Mt. Kemble, New Vernon, Mendham, German Valley, Columbia, Monroe, Whippany. The baptisms entered after March 18, 1849, have no place names.[18] However, those given prove the extent of Father McQuaid's ministry despite his frail health. Day after day he journeyed from Madison to the most distant parts of his parish, often holding the reins in one hand and his breviary in the other. Wherever he heard of a Catholic, his zeal sought him out. Frequently trips were also necessary to enable him to collect funds to establish churches in many of the missions of his parish. Even under Father Senez, he had begun to collect money for the building of the Morristown Church, which was to be erected as soon as possible. One day he travelled as far as Franklin Furnace, where a Catholic was said to be working. He told him of the poverty of Morristown, and begged for a subscription, but all in vain. Father McQuaid was about to leave empty-handed, when two Orangemen, who had heard the zealous pastor's story, put their hands into their pockets and gave him a dollar. Tired and hungry, he turned his horse's head homeward, and many hours afterward awoke in his carriage at Madison. He had fallen asleep during the journey, and the faithful beast carried him, in the darkness and over the rough road, safely to his home.[19] There, on such occasions, he at first indulged himself with a little toddy

to recover from fatigue and cold until he felt that a longing for the drink came even at other times, when he had not been subject to such hardship. At once Father McQuaid, mindful of the harm that comes to the cause of religion from an intemperate priest, practically refrained from all use of strong liquor. Later as Bishop, he insisted that whiskey and other things of that character be not used by priests as a common drink, even though at that time such things were supposed to be found on a gentleman's table.

The absence of church buildings in his out-missions made Father McQuaid take advantage of all sorts of places for the celebration of Mass and of other religious services on the occasion of his visits to minister to the spiritual needs of his scattered flock. He himself has given some information of this condition of affairs.

> When I took charge of Springfield as an outlying mission of Madison, in April, 1848, Mass had been said only on week days. Daniel Coghlan then lived in Springfield, and it was in his house that all religious services took place, and that the priest found good care and generous hospitality.
>
> After the opening of the Morristown church in 1849, which was subsequent to the Dover mission in Nov. of 1848, [this should be October], Mass was said in Springfield once a month on Sunday. That Sunday Morristown was left without a Mass. The first Mass was in Madison, and the second in Springfield. Before the building of the church—this was done in 1852—the Catholics of Springfield and neighborhood met in Mr. Coghlan's house for Mass, for Lenten devotions one evening in the week, and the children every Sunday for catechism. After Daniel Coughlan's removal to Whippany, the same facilities were kindly granted by his brother, Thomas Coghlan.[20]

In Franklin Furnace, the ballroom over the hotel was frequently placed at the disposition of the Catholic congregation for worship by the courtesy of Protestants. The same was also often done with the storeroom over the oldtime shop of Oakes, Ames & Co. In Newtown, a building then occupied by Mr. Edward McCormick and now on the site of the Levi Longcor residence, Spring Street, repeatedly gathered beneath its humble roof the assembled Catholics of the surrounding districts. The Blackwell house on Church Street, then the dwelling and harness shop of Mr. Francis Grey, likewise

served Catholic needs, while poverty of means and fewness of number did not allow the building of a church.[21] Conditions were a little better at Dover and Boonton, from the charge of which Father McQuaid was relieved when these two towns were made into a separate Parish in the fall of 1848. The new pastor, the Reverend S. Ward, reported to Bishop Hughes, in his letter of October 26th: "There are two churches here in an unfinished state, requiring much money, comparatively speaking, to finish them in any sort of a decent way for the celebration of the Most Holy Sacrifice." Of course, there was no house for the priest in either mission. Under the circumstances, the new pastor "thought it just that a portion of what was acquired from the entire mission at large by the priest hitherto employed on it, ought to be given for the uses of the Catholics of this part, now that a division is made." Father McQuaid, however, rejected the claim. The parishioners at Madison had paid for all the church furnishings there, and Father McQuaid had paid for all the furniture in his rectory as well as for his two horses and carriages. There can be little doubt, therefore, as to the decision made by Bishop Hughes in this matter, when it was referred to him by Father Ward for settlement.[22]

Meanwhile, Bishop McQuaid was busily engaged with the erection of the Morristown church. Already in 1847, a lot had been secured from John Kennedy of Philadelphia for $400, but it had not been "paid for except with borrowed money . . The site for the new church was to one side, so that here on the corner might be left the site for the future larger church." At that time, the building of even a small church was a gigantic enterprise for the few Catholics of the place. According to Father McQuaid's estimate in 1849, the Catholics belonging to the Morristown mission, stretching out for miles into the country in every direction except towards Madison, numbered 120 souls, including babies in arms. They were, indeed, "few in number, their resources not overbundant, with much to dishearten them, strangers in the land, strangers from a far-off country not finding many friends in those times." There was, in fact, a pronounced hostility to Catholics. "The cry against our holy religion, against the race to which we belong was heard on every side; we were not welcome in the country. They

bade us to go to one side: 'Put your church in an out-of-the-way place, where no one can see it; go on a side street, you poor foreigners, and build your shanty!' But we were heedless of their cries." In April, 1848, before the departure of Father Senez, a bee was held to dig the foundations. "Some cried out against the excavations for the walls being seven or eight feet high. We were not to put the people to unnecessary expense—four feet would do very well." Even Father Senez opposed the building of a basement, but he finally yielded to Father McQuaid's justification of the necessity of this added labor and expense: "My answer was this, These walls must be higher up to have a school."

August 15, 1848, the modest church of Morristown was roofed, the floors laid, the windows and doors hung. "It was because the contract called for their completion on that day that I chose to call the church the Assumption." However, it was not until Christmas Day that Mass was said for the first time in the new Church by Father McQuaid. Simplicity and poverty were everywhere in evidence. The altar consisted of some planks laid on barrels. The little congregation, from forty to seventy, made themselves as comfortable as possible without pews and kneeling benches. Nevertheless, the Pastor expressed satisfaction: "Now we depended on the goodness of God and the intercession of the Blessed Virgin, and we are all right. Through frost and cold, we have collected, by five and ten cent offerings, the funds necessary to build and enclose the church, and now we have everything except the pews."[23] Even these were duly procured to allow the dedication of the church by the following Spring. An interesting communication was written from Morristown to the *Freeman's Journal*, March 10, 1849:

> Last Sunday was a happy day for the Catholics of Morristown. On that day, the church, which, by hard struggling, they have been enabled to erect, was dedicated to the service of Almighty God. Now at length, within sight of their own homes, they have an altar around which they may gather in humble adoration of their Maker. Now, at their own doors, they have a temple within which they may hear the same truth their Saviour taught, and soon, in the basement of that church, they will have a school for their children. For this great favor, they do not fail to thank most heartily the good God who has pleased to grant it.

The Church is a plain frame building, with the basement under its whole extent. It is 58 by 38 feet, and will seat about 300 persons. The sanctuary is sufficiently large and spacious; on the one side of it, is the vestry, and on the other, the confessional. On the steps back of the altar, were six large silver-plated candlesticks and six more of a smaller size; on columns at each side were statues, one of the Virgin holding the Infant, and the other of the Angel Guardian leading a boy. Though the interior of the church was not quite finished, yet its whole appearance on the day of dedication was neat and chaste, and I am sure that before long the Catholics in town will complete in good taste what they have so well begun. At half past ten, Right Rev. Bishop Hughes began the dedication, assisted by the Pastor of the Church, the Rev. Mr. McQuaid. Mass was then celebrated. After the Gospel, the Bishop preached for about an hour. The Church, and principally its distinguishing feature of Unity, formed the matter of his discourse.

The choice of subject may have been prompted somewhat by the presence of a fair number of Protestants, among them Mr. Bonsall. In fact, even at this early period, conversions were not infrequent. Amongst the deaths and interments in the District of St. Vincent's Church, Madison, the name of Elizabeth Bartly, 106 years old, is entered, September, 1849, with the statement by Father McQuaid: "This person was received into the Church 4 days before her death. She enjoyed the use of all her faculties till within a few minutes of her death."[24] At Morristown, the first convert baptized by Father McQuaid was Mrs. Laurence Johnson. However, the efforts of the priest were necessarily mostly directed to the salvation of those already within the fold of the Church. He found many who, through no fault of theirs, had not approached the Sacraments for years. Such an one was old John McGowan, who for forty years had not knelt to a priest. Father McQuaid shrived the old man, and the fervor, with which he received Holy Communion, edified every one. Although separated from the little flock at Morristown by some miles, he did not relax his vigilance over it. One winter's night, a party of boys and girls was assembled in a building situated where the Lyceum now stands, and all were enjoying themselves with music and dancing, and perhaps other amusements, of which the pastor did not approve. Quite suddenly and very unexpectedly a stranger covered with snow stood in their midst. As he unwrapped his muffler and removed his fur cap, Father

McQuaid appeared before them. Without waiting for a word from him, whom they feared as well as loved, one and all disappeared through doors and windows.[25] However, the main object of his anxious care was symbolized by the statue of the Angel Guardian and the Child within the new church.

Father McQuaid feared the dangers which threatened, not the adult immigrant, but his children, whom every effort of Protestantism was bent to proselytise. He was once called to attend a sick woman near Monroe, whose husband had died of ship fever at sea. She herself was then struggling with the disease; she could not be resigned to die till she was assured of the future lot of her little son and daughter. Father McQuaid pledged himself to care for them. A little later, learning of her death, he hastened to the house, where she had been lodged, to secure the children. Some Protestants had been before him, and kidnapped the girl who later in life accosted him, a bitter enemy of her mother's faith. The boy was placed in an orphanage, where he soon joined his mother.[26] This was an exceptional case. However, children in normal circumstances were also subject to serious dangers. He himself later confessed: "While journeying through this district, hunting up stray sheep of the fold, the experience was acquired that without schools our children, and especially those of mixed marriages, would be lost."[27] Father McQuaid must have come to this conclusion very early in his pastorate, as he opened a school for the children of the parish in the basement of the Church at Madison, September, 1849, and "taught himself, to start it, for six months."[28] The school was, by no means, generally welcome at first; in fact, "many thought the pastor had lost his senses, when the school was first spoken of, for already they were wedded to the public school." Opposition gave away when it was taught for a half year "before a word was spoken to the people about how it should be supported." By the following September 1850, the basement of the Church at Morristown was fitted up for a school. There was also grumbling here: "We cannot afford to pay the teacher." Nevertheless, the school-room was finished, the teacher engaged, and placed there.

> At the opening of that school, there were twenty-five children present. In Madison, we had twenty-four. Many children then

walked two, three, four miles to school; there were children that came from Whippany to the Catholic parochial school.

These are bits of history which I give you. I know that you will not blame me when I tell you that I feel prouder today—prouder by far, that so many years ago I founded and established, and carried along successfully the humble parochial schools of Madison and Morristown than I ever felt at having established Seton Hall College and Seminary for the education of the rich or of Levites for the Sanctuary of God.[29]

The warm feeling Bishop McQuaid had for the first works of his ministry as a missionary in New Jersey had found expression even before these words of his sermon at the laying of the cornerstone of the new school at Morristown, November 25, 1886. Three years before he had occasion to write to the Pastor, the Reverend Joseph Flynn. The letter is dated May 14, 1883.

My heart always warmed to Morristown until I read in a newspaper, at the dinner given on the occasion of the dedication of the new church, the credit of building the old church was given to another priest who was present; and neither he nor any one present corrected the false statement. I built the church and paid for it.

I cared very little when they stole the credit of Seton Hall from me, and what I did for the Sisters of Charity in Newark and at Madison; but I frankly confess that I felt hurt at the Morristown theft, as that was my baby-work, and therefore my pet. It cost something to build a church in those days. A dollar was a large contribution and gladly received. In 1848, the people of the Irish famine times were poor, and had to send every dollar they could to their starving relatives at home.

How kind is Providence, who conceals from us the secrets of the future and the ingratitude of man, that our zeal and devotion may not be chilled by a knowledge of what is in store for us in this world!

. . . . . .

P.S. You can claim that in Morristown you have the second oldest Catholic school in the State of New Jersey, uninterruptedly kept up. Madison has the first. I established both in a very humble way, it is true; but they helped to establish the principle that Catholic schools were as necessary as churches.[30]

The logic of the events in the previous years had driven the principle deep into the mind of Father McQuaid. He knew that his own Bishop had been convinced for some time that the public school was no place for the Catholic child, as Bishop Hughes clearly stated the Catholic side of the question in the

Address of Roman Catholics to their Fellow Citizens of the City and State of New York, as early as August 10, 1840:

> If the public schools could have been constituted on a principle which could have secured a perfect neutrality of influence on the subject of religion, then we should have no reason to complain. But this has not been done, and we respectfully submit that *it is impossible.* The cold indifference, with which it is required that all religion shall be treated in these schools—the Scriptures without note or comment—the selection of passages as reading lessons from Protestant and prejudiced authors on points in which our Creed is supposed to be involved—the comments of the teacher, of which the commissioners cannot be cognizant—the school libraries stuffed with sectarian works against us—form against our religion a combination of influences prejudicial to our religion, and, to whose action, it would be criminal in us to expose our children at such an age.[31]

Nevertheless, Bishops and priests had been unwilling to add to the burden already weighing down their poor congregations. They had tried to find a way whereby a portion at least of their own money, paid to the State, might come back to them, to educate their children,[32] without a violation of their conscience. Catholics had, therefore, twice petitioned the New York Board of Aldermen for a just share of the Common School Fund. As they received no satisfaction here, they had pushed their case by asking relief in a Memorial to the Legislature of the State of New York, to which Governor Seward, in his message of January 1, 1840, had recommended in behalf of the children of foreigners "the establishment of schools in which they may be instructed by teachers speaking the same language with themselves, and professing the same faith."[33] Under the guidance of Bishop Hughes, Catholics had already formulated a compromise to overcome any scruple lest public money might be devoted to the support of the Catholic Faith, and to satisfy the Public School Society, a private corporation in New York City, which received all public money for the support of its public schools there.

> Your petitioners are willing to fulfil the conditions of the law so far as religious teaching is proscribed during school hours. In fine, your petitioners, to remove all objections, are willing that the material organization of their schools, and the disbursements of the funds allowed for them, shall be conducted by persons unconnected

with the religion of your petitioners, even the Public School Society, if it should please your honorable body to appoint them for that purpose. The public may then be assured that the money will not be applied to the support of the Catholic religion.[34]

The concessions offered were made in vain. Catholics were denied any share in the Public Schools Fund. If we believe Bishop McQuaid, even Catholics were responsible for the failure of Bishop Hughes's efforts to obtain redress for the just grievances of Catholics in this matter. In his sermon at the blessing of the Morristown school, attached to the Church of the Assumption, November 25, 1886, Bishop McQuaid declared: "It was his Irish Catholic friends that betrayed him, that stabbed him in the back, and many of those belonging to our Faith did their best to hinder the Protestant people from rendering us Catholics any assistance."[35] Bishop McQuaid repeated the charge in his sermon at the Month's Mind of Archbishop Corrigan, June 11, 1902, into which he also introduced a eulogy of Bishop Hughes, in these words:

His heart never failed, his courage never gave out, not even when struck in the back by his own people; not even when a trusted member of his flock took sides against him privately, and caused the politicians at Albany to withdraw from their intention to render just rights to the Catholics of the country. Often had I occasion to listen to the Catholics out in the rural districts, who, having read the New York papers—chiefly the *New York Herald*—had their minds poisoned by these attacks, and had become ashamed of him who, of all men that had ever lived, was best able, from the bravery of his soul, to lead us. His own friends, I say, stabbed him in the back, and he went to his grave not knowing the names of the traitors.[36]

It is difficult to discover the circumstances into which such a betrayal might fit. Apparently there was no chance for a redress of Catholic grievances, when this school question was degraded into a political issue. Whoever was responsible for that wrecked the cause. However, even here good came out of evil. Bishop McQuaid has revealed what influence the struggle exerted on his own development.

In the days when the storm was raging in the land, I was a young man growing up, taking no part in the affairs of the world; but my ears were wide open to everything that took place; then came to me this great truth: If ever we are to hold our Catholics

to the faith in these United States, it must be through the instrumentality of Catholic schools for Catholic children. . . . . .

I used to look at those boys in New York, everywhere crowding our streets, but not crowding our churches, and many a time I had occasion to say to myself: If God had not been kinder to me than to these, might I not be much worse? God in His mercy had given me the opportunity of a Christian education. Could I not then, in common gratitude, try to gain children entrusted to my care, could I not try to teach them to know this same God by a Christian education?[37]

This was precisely what Father McQuaid had determined to do in the humble schools in Madison and Morristown. If he needed any apology for his action, he could do no better than refer opponents of the enterprise to a passage in the Pastoral that Bishop Hughes issued about a month after the opening of the Morristown school. It contained this significant statement:

I think the time has almost come when it will be necessary to build the school-house first, and the church afterward. Our fellow-citizens have adopted a system of education . . . . from which they have attempted to divorce religion under the plea of excluding sectarianism from elements of education and literature. For myself, I may be allowed to say that I do not regard it as suited to a Christian land, whether Catholic or Protestant, however admirably it might be adapted to the social condition of an enlightened pagan.[38]

The combination of Church and School in one building was the practical expedient, born of this conviction. It made schools possible in places and times that did not admit of the separate building. With the growth of the parish in size and resources, a separate church could be built, and the old building remodeled for exclusive school purposes. Father McQuaid's basement schools were a factor in promoting this system's adoption, although it had been in use elsewhere before this. The school work did not prevent further church building in his district. He himself gives the account of the work done at Springfield.

In 1852, owing to increasing numbers, it was judged advisable to build a church. As the non-Catholics of Springfield and Milburn were grossly and stupidly bigoted, it was necessary to proceed warily in buying a lot for the new church. Fortunately a suitable site was found on the main road leading to Elizabeth, just where the road from Newark strikes in. The property belonged to one . . . .

He agreed to sell one acre for $250, having paid $750 for three and a half acres, with house and barn, a short time before. Then, after the story got out that the Catholics were about to build a church, this man refused to complete the bargain on the plea that his wife refused to sign the deed—a common dodge among the people who do not wish to keep their agreements. When it became known that he had backed out, no one in the neighborhood would sell at any price. An offer was then made to the man's wife of $300, and then of $400 for the same bit of ground for a church, seeing that the enemies of the Church were combined against us. She refused, no doubt, in the hope of extracting more money, for when she found that the church was to build elsewhere, she offered the ground at the last named price. Her offer was indignantly refused.

This site, on which the church was built, was a free gift from Daniel Coghlan, and was always at our disposal, but as the ground was wet and the location not desirable as other sites, it was judged better to pay for a choice site rather than accept this as a gift.

The disappointment occasioned by the aforementioned gentleman's want of honesty in keeping his bargain delayed the commencement of the church until autumn. Promise had been made to the people that they should have a church before the expiration of the year. Ground was broken for the foundation of the church on St. Theresa's Day, Oct. 15th, and the church was blessed on the Sunday after Christmas, I think it was December 26th, by the Very Rev. John Laughlin, V. G., deputed by Bishop Hughes. The day of the dedication all indebtedness was liquidated except two notes of $100, each payable to Houston of Chatham, one in six months and another in twelve months. The first was paid at maturity; the second was met by my successor, Rev. M. A. Madden. The money for building this church was collected in small sums all over the extensive, but not populous mission of Madison. An old collection book shows contributions from Madison, Morristown, Mendham, Baskinridge, Providence, Chatham, Columbia, Hanover, Whippany, Speedwell, etc.[39]

Chapter XII

BISHOP BAYLEY

A larger field of operation opened up to Father McQuaid with the creation of the bishopric of Newark, of which the Right Reverend James Roosevelt Bayley became the first Bishop. One of the first official acts recorded by the new Bishop on the Diocesan Register, October 18, 1853, reads: "Revd. Michael Madden appointed to Madison in place of Rev. B. J. McQuaid, who comes to Newark as Pastor of the Cathedral."[1] Father McQuaid's activities in the Diocese of Newark until his removal as Bishop to Rochester in 1868 have been well summarized in the *Newark Diocesan Register of Clergy* by Archbishop Corrigan:

> Pastor of the Cathedral, and right arm of the Bishop for many years. Built and rebuilt Seton Hall College. Introduced Sisters of Charity, and was foremost in promoting all Diocesan Works, Vicar General after F. Moran's death.[2]

As soon as the news of the appointment of the new Bishop of Newark reached the country in September, 1853, the pastor of St. Patrick's Church, Newark, the same Father Senez, whom Father McQuaid had succeeded before in Madison, hastened to New York City, and resigned from the pastoral charge of that church which was destined to be the Cathedral of the new See. Father McQuaid was forthwith notified to report there as Pastor the following Sunday, but he found this to be impossible. He had just completed arrangements with contractors to begin the building of a church in Mendham, and he needed at least a week to wind up his affairs in Madison. The necessary delay was granted, so that he did not appear before his Cathedral congregation till Sunday, September 25, 1853.[3] After the consecration of Bishop Bayley, October 30, 1853, the Pastor of his Cathedral was busy in making arrangements for the new Bishop's reception. He was determined to make it a memorable event by making it the

JAMES ROOSEVELT BAYLEY, D. D.
First Bishop of Newark, N. J., 1853-1872
Archbishop of Baltimore, 1872-1877

BERNARD J. McQUAID
Rector of St. Patrick's Cathedral,
Newark, N. J., 1853-1868

occasion of a great public Catholic demonstration. The older clergy were timid and feared that disaster might result. The new Bishop was urged to stop what was bound to stir up rancor and bigotry, but Father McQuaid grimly replied: "You are not Bishop yet, and if trouble ensues, then suspend me after you take possession of your Cathedral." The day set for the important event was the Feast of All Saints. Thousands gathered at the Center Street Depot to await the arrival of Bishop Bayley on the 9:45 A. M. train. Thence he was escorted by a large procession to his Cathedral without any molestation. A Solemn High Mass was celebrated on the occasion before the largest assembly of people that ever thronged St. Patrick's Church, if Bishop McQuaid's description is not an exaggeration. For he said: "There were really three congregations in the church, one on the floor of the church, one standing on the seats, and others standing on the backs of the pews. There were no tickets of admission, and all who could get in were welcomed." The religious service was followed by a banquet for the clergy, provided at the personal expense of Father McQuaid, who sold his horse and carriage, and borrowed money besides to meet the expense.[4]

The fears of the older clergy were not entirely unfounded. Even Father McQuaid had lived through the stormy times that Bishop Hughes had hitherto weathered. In 1836, that vile forgery, *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk,* had spread broadcast enough calumnies against the holiest institutions of the Catholic Church to inflame the morbid fancy of Protestant bigotry, and in 1837, Mr. Clay presented a petition from sundry inhabitants of Sullivan County, New York, to the Senate of the United States against Catholics. Congress was asked to deny the privilege of citizenship to Roman Catholics, or, in other words, to exclude persons of that creed from exercising the elective franchise unless they should renounce their religion; also to appoint sheriffs and officers to inspect monasteries and convents and other religious establishments of Catholics.[5] Some years later rumor of similar designs on the part of politicians reached Bishop Hughes, who immediately challenged them to a candid confession, if it were true.

> If there be any intention among the public men of this country to disenfranchise Catholics—to abridge them of their rights—in

> the name of all that is honorable, I would say, let it be done by a manly, noble declaration to that effect. If Protestantism cannot thrive in this country unless it have some one or more denominations to degrade and trample upon—as in Great Britain and Ireland—let it speak out and candidly make known the fact. If defamation in aggregate and detail can accomplish it, the Catholics of this country will soon be degraded enough in the minds of their fellow citizens.[6]

After the Maria Monk troubles had disgraced the country and cut to the heart timid Catholics, there followed the Native American disturbances and riots. Father McQuaid had lived through some of them in New York City, as he himself later testified. "Four or five mobs, at different times had gathered to destroy the old Cathedral on Mott Street. The last time I witnessed an assault upon it, the mayor was there, and artillery, cavalry, and regiments of infantry to protect the church in New York City."[7] Even unwilling authorities had to act then, as, in their failure to do their duty, Catholics had clearly notified the public of their intention to defend themselves. The warning was given in an extra issue of the *Freeman's Journal:*

> If, as it has already appeared in Philadelphia, it should be a part of Native Americanism to attack the houses or churches of Catholics, then it behooves them, in case all other protection fail, to defend both with their lives. In this, they will not act against the law, but for the law. But in no case, let Catholics suffer an outrage on their property without repelling the aggression at all hazzards.

Father McQuaid must have felt that Bishop Hughes's past vigorous denunciations of bigotry and prejudice had brought the Protestant people to their senses. Nevertheless, bigotry and prejudice were not quenched, but only smoldering. The very next year afforded proof of this fact. Bishop Bayley, September 6 and 8, 1854, wrote, in his Register of the Diocese of Newark, the following account of the Protestant riot against Catholics.

> Yesterday a Procession of Protestant Societies marched through Newark. [It was an "Orange Association" known under the name of the "American Protestant Association".] Some person from among a crowd at the corner of Shipman & William Street, having thrown a stone at them, they immediately made an assault upon persons in the crowd, firing pistols and using daggers, and then proceeded to

attack the German Catholic Church, which was close by, and destroyed anything they could lay hands on. The most false statements were immediately published, throwing the whole blame upon the Irish Catholics. It was stated that the Priest & twenty men commenced the disturbance by firing on the Procession from the Church, &c. The examination, however, before the Coroner's Jury, though conducted most unfairly, tended to put an end to these lies, and the newspapers were finally obliged to acknowledge that the Catholics were not to blame, & that no stones were thrown nor shots fired from the Church. [The stone, which was made an excuse for the disturbance, was thrown by one of themselves.] One of the most malicious statements in regard to the matter appeared in the *New York Courier & Enquirer* of the 6th. I wrote a Letter to the Editor, which he published with some comments. [8th] The mayor having done nothing in the matter, the Governor of the State issued a Proclamation, offering a reward for the discovery of the murderers of McCarthy & the spoilers of the Church. The Rev. Mr. McQuaid exerted himself very much in the whole affair, and it was chiefly owing to his exertions that we obtained any justice at all; a resume of the whole affair may be found in the Freeman's Journal of the 16th September. McDermott, who was also wounded, died afterwards. Though he had four or five stabs in the back & a piece of lead in his breast-bone, the Coroner's Jury said he died of *Cholera*. [We obtained no reparation from the City—were obliged to repair the Church, take care of the widows and orphans ourselves. The ringleader was caught in some machinery and torn to pieces at Williamsburg; another fell from a building & was killed instantly at Jersey City. They were well known, but no attempt was made to arrest them.][8]

Bad as was the riot, Catholics were pleased to learn that the Blessed Sacrament had escaped desecration. The Pastor was dining with a visiting priest, who had presence of mind and courage of heart to remove the Blessed Sacrament to safety, when he saw the mob advancing against the church. The Pastor is said to have hid under a bed, while his housekeeper, bravely, though ineffectually, brandished a broomstick at the rioters.[9] Report of the outrage also reached the Orphan Asylum in charge of the Sisters of Charity. They, no doubt, remembered the burning of the Ursuline Convent and Academy at Charlestown, Mass., in 1834 by a similar lawless Protestant mob. Fearing an attack on the orphanage, Sister Philippine took refuge with her little ones in the Church, where they remained in prayer during the rest of the day and far into the night until reassured of safety by the return of

their Pastor, Father McQuaid.[10] The truth of the whole affair, finally, leaked out through the Public Press after the first storm of passion had passed away. The *New York Tribune*, re-echoing the declarations of other papers, at length, proclaimed it as follows:

> THE NEWARK MURDER AND SACRILEGE.—The Church stands fairly exculpated from all offense, and its devastation is an unprovoked and shameful outrage, which reflects great discredit on Newark and belligerent Protestantism. And it is worthy of note that, while this is the fifth or sixth Catholic edifice which has been destroyed or devastated by mob violence in our country, *there is no instance on record wherin a Protestant house* of worship has been ravaged by Catholics.[11]

There was no lack of uphill work for the new Diocese without this hostility from the outside. At the time of its creation, only 40,000 Catholics were settled within its limits that comprised all New Jersey. They were almost all emigrants from Ireland, Germany and other countries, most of whom were attracted by the industries established in the State in the previous years. Others were employed as household servants and on farms. According to Bishop Bayley's estimate, the majority of the adults were Irish immigrants, about one fourth were Germans, and there were also Americans, English, French, and Canadians.[12] The people were poor, but even the generosity of the poor was curtailed by the commercial crisis that made itself felt throughout the country in the winter of 1854 and 1855. Bishop Bayley noted its effect: "It has closed, for a time at least, a great number of factories, and thrown poor people out of employment, has left them not only incapable of giving alms, but rather made them an object of charity."[13] In addition to this, hard times "powerfully contributed to check immigration from Ireland, as well as from other Catholic countries on the Continent. At the same time, such as are here have become restless; many of them have gone back to the old country, and a great number of others have left the seaboard for the West." However, Bishop Bayley was glad to observe in July, 1856, that "affairs are certainly brighter, and our people have work and are more contented."[14]

The money stringency was especially painful to Bishop Bayley, as he found, in taking possession of his See, "many churches loaded with debts and in such straits that they needed large sums of money to prevent their being sold under the hammer."[15] With money received in 1855, from the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons, France, he was able to save two churches that were very much embarrassed.[16] Contributions from the Leopoldine Foundation at Vienna, Austria, gave him some means to help financially the struggling German missions that were "in the greatest need of support, since the Germans, coming from a country where the Church is entirely supported by the State, are not habituated to the system of voluntary contributions, and are much less generous than their Irish brethren."[17]Nevertheless, the 33 churches, served by 30 priests in 1854, were increased, by the summer of 1855, to 41 churches or chapels, served by 35 priests, of whom 8, including the Bishop himself, were born in this country, 17 born in Ireland. Of the rest 5 were Germans, and 5 were French or Italians.[18]

Catholic poverty did not form much of a recommendation for the Catholic faith to those outside of the Church. This was so much the case in the opinion of Bishop Bayley that "the only way, in which we can hope to make an impression upon the proud and worldly spirit of the Protestants who surround us . . . . . is to elevate the social condition of Catholics." Otherwise this spirit amongst Protestants would ever present, he thought, "to the development of our holy religion an obstacle as grave as the castes of India . . . Many of our Catholic emigrants have made fortunes, and, if their children can be taught that, in holding to their faith, they can stand on the same level with Protestants, they will be able, little by little, to remove the prejudices which hinder the enemies of the church from examining the truth of our holy religion."[19] Poverty was not only an impediment to conversions and to fairness towards Catholics, but it also exposed Catholics to "the proselytism of the different sects, who work constantly and persistently to pervert their children."[20] This danger was somewhat counterbalanced later by the establishment of conferences of St. Vincent de Paul. Bishop Bayley noted in the *Newark Diocesan Register,* December 16,

1858: "The Rev. Father McQuaid is busy organizing the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in the Cathedral Parish." Two months later he writes of himself: "Delivered a lecture last Evening before the Society of Saint Vincent of Paul, attached to the Cathedral in the Hall of the Catholic Institute—Subject 'Shame'—Room full—Receipts 250 Dollars for poor."[21]

This charity work did not touch the root of the trouble. The Bishop of the Diocese was no less impressed than the Pastor of his Cathedral with the necessity of a more radical measure to safeguard the faith of the rising generation. As early as 1853, in the first edition of his *History of the Catholic Church in New York*, Bishop Bayley had re-iterated the principle so clearly formulated before by Bishop Hughes, which had also actuated the foundation of the parochial schools of Madison and Morristown by Father McQuaid. He declared: "If we desire . . . to keep the children in the faith of their fathers, we must, above all things, take measures to imbue the minds of the rising generations of Catholics with sound religious principles. This can be done by giving them a good Catholic education. In our present position, the schoolhouse has become second in importance only to the House of God itself."[22] Bishop Bayley also had little fear for the parents, "who become oft times indifferent, but rarely apostates," but he also contended that "the Protestants make the greatest efforts to pervert our youth, mainly in establishing free schools, supported by the State."[23] In them, he discovered "evil influences . . . so destructive that the Catholic religion will disappear as quickly as it has spread."[24] The danger was all the more pressing on account of the lack of practically all institutions of piety and learning in the Diocese of Newark at the time of its creation. This was due to its historical geography. One half of the Diocese had been under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of New York, and the other half under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Philadelphia. These dioceses kept all their colleges, their seminaries, and religious houses, as none of these were built within the borders of the new diocese. Bishop Bayley, therefore, found himself "obliged to build ourselves to safeguard religion and uphold its dignity." As the people had all they could do to support their churches, which even at times was impossible, the new Bishop appealed

to the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons, France, and to the Leopoldine Foundation at Vienna, Austria, for financial aid to erect a diocesan college for the Christian education of the youth. He considered this a work "of the highest importance for the upholding and furthering of our holy religion."[25]

Meanwhile, Bishop Bayley used "every means to establish parochial schools wherever there are missions," although he realized that "it is a great burden for our poor people, who are obliged not only to support Catholic schools, but also to pay taxes for the maintenance of free schools, which are carried on at an immense outlay, and which present every attraction to catch our children."[26] He wrote Father John A. Kelly, in December, 1855: "You must have a school, if the Ladies of South Amboy have to sell their jewelry and you your best coat." No sacrifice was too great, as he had written the Reverend J. D. Bowles, the pastor of Bordentown, in July, of the same year:

> I want to express my satisfaction at the account of the examination of your school. Nothing is nearer to my heart than the establishment of good parochial schools. This must be done at any sacrifice, for in them is our only hope of making Catholicity take root here. I thank you for the encouragement you have given to my efforts by your example.[27]

The work progressed so well that Bishop Bayley was able to inform the Propagation of Faith at Lyons, France, in August, 1856: "I have opened a school wherever there is a Church with a resident priest."[28] Money also arrived from the Leopoldine Foundation at Vienna, Austria. He gladly followed out the instructions to devote a good portion of it to the establishment of parochial schools in the German parishes. While the Catholic Parochial School System was gradually enlarged with the increase of churches, Bishop Bayley became more and more convinced of the unwillingness of the State to admit the justice of Catholic claims. This is evident from his entry on the *Newark Diocese Register,* March 3, 1857:

> Discovered today that Circular had been issued, purporting to be with my approbation, calling upon the Catholics of the State to organize & petition against the present School System—Wrote to the Clergy to hinder any organization or Catholic agitation upon the subject. If *we* wished to have it changed or abrogated, it would

be better for us to petition in favor of it than against it. If individual Catholics see fit to sign their names [to lists], which are being circulated, indiscriminately with the citizens who are opposed to it, I, of course, have no objection, but no petition in a body, nor agitation about it as *Catholics*.[29]

Chapter XIII

SETON HALL

Although Bishop Bayley was convinced of the necessity of a Diocesan College, there is every reason to believe that success would not have crowned his efforts for its establishment and continuation, if it had not been for the indomitable energy and zeal of Father McQuaid. For late in his life he wrote to a friend: "Two thirds of the diocese were against Seton Hall for years, and three fourths were sneering at St. Elizabeth's. I had one natural gift in high degree, it was not a saintly one, the more the opposition, the stronger the determination to succeed in spite of the devil and every one else."[1] This included even Bishop Bayley, "considering how much difficulty I had to induce Bp. Bayley to let me begin, and how much greater difficulty I had more than once to keep him from breaking it up."[2] This was the reason why Bishop McQuaid later believed it wise on his part not to preach at the Month's Mind of Archbishop Bayley, when invited to do so. He wrote some of his reasons to Bishop Corrigan, who was best able to appreciate them.

> In a calm review of the Archbishop's episcopal career, necessarily much would have to be said of Seton Hall and the Sisters of Charity, and the credit of both in whole placed to his account. While it pleases me to have this done by others, it scarcely suits me so far to forget the truth. *Qui facit per alium, facit per se,* is true in one sense, but not in every sense.
>
> My services to Bishop Bayley were for fifteen years as devoted and disinterested as it was possible for them to be. They were substantial services whose fruits abundantly remain. He commanded them *gratis,* and they were as much as are ordinarily done by three priests. I never expected an acknowledgement or reward, and I never received any. My being bishop of Rochester is through no act of his; we both labored to effect a change in the arrangement.
>
> No man has sincerer respect and regard for the Archbishop than myself. His solid piety and genuine virtues I admire and venerate. All my disengaged masses are for his soul and will be for many a day to come. In no other way can I fulfil my duty

towards one who was my bishop for fifteen years, and whom as such I obeyed and served in the work of God's Church. If I served the man, and not the Church, then I got no recompense in this world & I need not expect any in the next.[3]

The projected college was intended not only for the Christian education of the lay youth, but also for the training "of the young men of the diocese who give signs of a vocation to the priesthood."[4] A house, near Madison, where Madame Chegaray had conducted a Young Ladies Seminary, was judged to be a suitable site. It was bought in April, 1854, for $8000.[5] As the expense could not be met by the poor people of the diocese, Bishop Bayley obtained permission from Archbishop Hughes to collect in New York. May 8, Bishop Bayley noted down in his Register a most discouraging beginning in the work: "I today sent the Rev. Mr. Madden of Madison to make a commencement in favor of the new college—amounted to nothing."[6] On June 11, 1855, the work of collection was still going on, as Bishop Bayley then recorded that "the Rev. Father McQuaid went yesterday to Burlington & Mt. Holly to collect for the College."[7] Sums of money were also received from the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons and from the Leopoldine Foundation at Vienna to be used in part for the establishment of the College. The preparatory work was all done towards the end of the Summer of 1856, and August 31, Bishop Bayley noted the fact in the Diocesan Register: "Father McQuaid and the rest have been very busy getting ready to open the College tomorrow—Will probably have twenty to thirty boys to start with. A good many persons have been out to see it. As is always the case, some of our *friends* in New York are doing all they can to help us *downwards*."[8] The *Catholic Almanac* of 1857 gives its first notice of the institution.

SETON HALL COLLEGE, Madison, Morris Co., New Jersey, is situated upon a farm of 50 acres, in the vicinity of the village of Madison, N. J., about 21 miles distant from the city of New York. It is conducted by secular priests of the Catholic Church, assisted by competent lay professors under the immediate supervision of the Rt. Rev. Bishop. The College buildings are large and commodious; the location is upon high ground, overlooking a beautiful country, and is unsurpassed for healthfulness by any portion of the United States. The object of the institution is to impart a good

education in the proper and highest sense of the word. The course of instruction embraces a complete classical and commercial education. Particular attention will be paid to instruction in the French and English languages. Board and tuition $200 *per annum*. Circulars containing full particulars sent on application to the President of the College, or to Rev. V. Beaudevin, Bishop's Secretary, Newark. The Morris and Essex R. R., which runs through the village of Madison, renders the College accessible from New York in about an hour and a half.

FACULTY

Rev. Bernard J. McQuaid, President.
Rev. Alfred Young, A. M., Vice-President and Prof. of Latin and Greek.
Rev. Lawrence Hoey, A. M., Professor of Mathematics.
Rev. Daniel Fisher, A. M., Professor of English Literature.
Peter Tolin, A. B., Professor of French.
Achille Magni, A. M., Assistant Professor of Latin.
Mr. James Fagan, Teacher of Natural Philosophy.
Mr. Francis O'Ryan, Mr. Philip O'Ryan } Tutors

The Feast of St. John, the Baptist, June 24, 1857, witnessed the first Commencement of Seton Hall College, "if it may be called by so dignified a name," as Bishop Bayley remarked in noting that "the weather was beautiful, the first really fine day almost this season." He was pleased to see "that everything went off well."[9] The work, in fact, was so well begun by the first President, Father McQuaid, that it was thought that it might be carried on successfully by another. The Reverend Daniel Fisher was then appointed to the presidency of the College,[10] but he held the office for only two years. His resignation occasioned Bishop Bayley to write this significant passage in the Register of the Diocese, July 16, 1859:

> Have been obliged to reappoint the Rev. Father McQuaid to the Presidency of the College—he still retaining the Pastorship of the Cathedral. It is more difficult to find a good College President than to find a good anything else in this world. All that the College needs, to ensure its permanent presidency, is a President. Everything else is there.[11]

The second term of Father McQuaid's presidency of Seton Hall College witnessed a wonderful development of the institution in spite of most trying difficulties. The first important

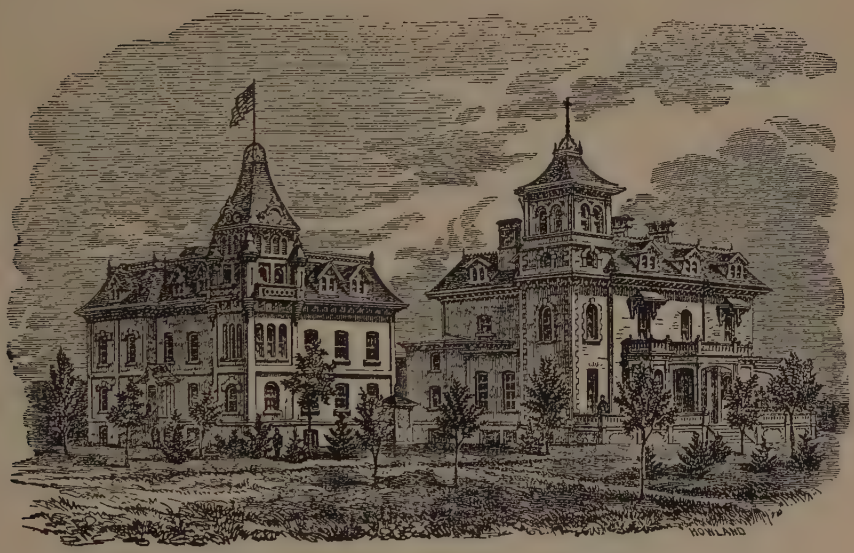
event of his second administration of its affairs was duly noted by Bishop Bayley, April 2, 1860:

> Purchased the House, Farm, known as the Marble House near South Orange for $35,000. The house was built by a person named Elphinstone, who spent some $40,000 on it & failed before it was completed. Intend to give the property at Madison to the Sisters of Charity & remove the college to this place.[12]

Considerable encouragement was given by the proceeds of a collection taken up in all the Churches of the Diocese for the new College. It amounted to $8,100.[13] The Marble House became the Seminary building; this necessitated the erection of a College building. The work, however, was so far advanced by May 15th that Bishop Bayley "Blessed the corner-stone of the New College Building at South Orange. Large number of people present, made an address."[14] Everything was ready for the opening of School, as Bishop Bayley was able to record, September 10: "The new College building at S. Orange is finished & has opened with about 50 boys."[15] It was now time to obtain legal recognition of the institution by the State. This was done according to an entry made at the close of the Academic Year on the Diocesan Register, June 26, 1861: "First commencement at new College, large number of friends came out. Everything satisfactory, day very warm & threatening. Seton Hall was chartered."[16] The Legislature, at its last session, had passed an act of incorporation, granting it all the rights and privileges enjoyed by other Colleges in the State.[17] The Seton Hall College Catalogue for the Academic Year 1861-2 makes known the condition of the College in all detail at this time.

> It is situated near the village of South Orange, twelve miles distant from New York, and three and a half from Newark. The Morris and Essex R. R., which passes through South Orange, renders the College accessible from New York in about an hour.
>
> The College buildings are of great architectural beauty, large and commodious, thoroughly ventilated, well heated by steam, and lighted by gas.
>
> The location is upon high ground, overlooking a beautiful country, and noted for healthfulness. The Orange Mountains are recommended by Physicians of New York, as the most favorable residence for consumptive patients within many miles of that city. For years past the advantages of the surrounding country for health, extensive view, and proximity to New York, have been fully appre-

SETON HALL COLLEGE, MADISON, N. J.



COLLEGE SEMINARY

SETON HALL, SOUTH ORANGE, N. J.

ciated; hence the villas and mansions on every eligible site for miles around.

. . . . . .

The domestic arrangements are under the care of a Matron with competent assistants, and the greatest attention is paid at all times to the neatness and cleanliness of every part of the establishments. In sickness, the patients receive the most careful nursing.

. . . The health, manners, and morals of the pupils are an object of constant attention. The system of government is mild and paternal, yet firm in enforcing the observance of established discipline. No pupil will be received from another College without unexceptionable testimonials, and none will be retained, whose manners and morals are not satisfactory.

The better to carry out the designs of the Institution, to maintain strict discipline with kind and gentle treatment, and to devote constant and special attention to each individual student, but a limited number of students is received. All are thoroughly instructed in the doctrine of the Catholic Church and trained in its practice.

In a large Gymnasium well provided with the necessary apparatus, the students are drilled twice a week in Calisthenics and Gymnastics under an experienced Professor. The advantages to the health and the physical development of the students, derived from these exercises in the past, prove their necessity and importance.

The academic year consists of two sessions, of five months each, commences on the last Wednesday of August, and ends on the last Wednesday of June, at which time there will be a Public Exhibition and Distribution of Premiums.

Weekly reports of all classes are read before the Professors, Tutors, and students. At the end of the first session, after a general examination, bulletins are sent to the parents or guardians, informing them of the progress, application, health, etc., of their children and wards.

TERMS

Board and tuition, washing, mending, use of bed and bedding, $225 per annum, payable half-yearly in advance. Physician's fees, $5; medicine will be charged for at Apothecary's rates.

Music $50 and Drawing $40 per annum for those who wish to learn them. The German, Italian, and Spanish Languages, each $25 per annum. Each student on entering must be supplied with four Summer suits, if he enter in the Spring; or three Winter suits, if he enter in the Fall. He must also have, at least twelve shirts, twelve pair of stockings, twelve pocket-handkerchiefs, six towels, six napkins, three pairs of shoes or boots, and napkin ring marked with his name.

With regard to pocket money, it is desirable that parents should allow their children but a moderate sum, and that this should be placed in the hands of the Treasurer, to be given as prudence may suggest.

Bills of expenditure are sent at the close of each session, and at the same time is issued a draft for the amount at ten day's sight. Parents or guardians, residing outside of the country, or at too great distance, must appoint a representative at some convenient place, who will be responsible for a regular payment of the expenses, and bound to receive the student, should it become necessary to dismiss him.

Should a student leave the college before the expiration of a quarter, no deduction is made for the remainder of that quarter, except in case of sickness or dismissal. $40 extra will be charged for students who remain at the College during the vacation.

COURSE OF STUDIES

CLASSICAL COURSE:

First Year.—Seventh Class.—Latin Grammar and Arnold's First and Second Latin Book.

Second Year.—Sixth Class.—Latin: Grammar, Arnold's First and Second Latin Book, Nepos and Caesar. Greek: Grammar, Aesop's Fables.

Third Year.—Fifth Class.—Latin: Prose Composition, Prosody, Sallust, Ovid, Virgil (Eclogues). Greek: Grammar, Lucian's Dialogues, Xenophon (Anabasis).

Fourth Year.—Fourth Class.—Latin: Prose Composition, Prosody, Virgil, Cicero's Orations. Greek: Prosody, Xenophon (Cyropaedia), Homer.

Fifth Year.—Third Class.—Latin: Composition, Livy, Horace (Satires and Epistles), Cicero, De Senectute and de Amicitia. Greek: Demosthenes and Aeschylus.

Sixth Year.—Second Class.—Latin: Tacitus, Horace (Odes and Art of Poetry), Cicero, De Officiis. Greek: Euripides and Longinus.

Seventh Year.—First Class.—Latin: Juvenal and Perseus. Greek: Herodotus and Thucydides.

ENGLISH COURSE:

Reading and Spelling, Exercise by Dictation, Prose Composition, Elocution, Precepts of Rhetoric and Poetry, Criticism of Classical Authors, Course of English Classical Reading. History: Hale's History of the United States, Lingard's History of England, Fredet's Ancient and Modern Histories, History of Roman and Grecian Antiquities and Mythology, Philosophy of History. There are also classes of Writing, Geography, and Book-keeping.

FRENCH COURSE:

Ollendorff's Method, French Dialogues, Grammaire Francaise de Noel et Chapsal, Exercises by Dictation, Composition, Study of French Literature.

MATHEMATICAL COURSE:

Mental and Practical Arithmetic, Algebra, Plane, Solid, and Spherical Geometry, Trigonometry and Mensuration, Surveying and Navigation, Analytical Geometry, Differential and Integral Calculus, Mechanics and Civil Engineering, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Astronomy.

Logic, Metaphysics, and Ethics are studies during the Sixth and Seventh Years of the Classical Course. Candidates for the degrees of A. B. must undergo a public examination in the full course of studies pursued in the College.

The Spanish and German languages, Music, Drawing, and Oil Painting are optional studies.

The course of instruction in Christian Doctrine will consist in the study, in regular succession, of the Small Catechism, Butler's Catechism, Collot's Doctrinal and Scriptural Catechism and in Lectures on the Doctrines and Evidences of the Catholic Church.

The printed Catalogue of 1861-2 does not contain the special code of rules, which appears for the first time in the Catalogue of 1864-5. They are grouped together under the heading

FUNDAMENTAL RULES OF DISCIPLINE

No Student ever leaves the College grounds without a teacher. Leaving the College grounds after night-fall subjects the student to expulsion.

The use of tobacco is forbidden, and Students are not allowed to have any in their possession.

No books of any kind can be held by the Students, unless by permission of the President.

Students are not allowed to receive newspapers, except for their Reading Room, which is under the direction of the President.

No correspondence is permitted, except under cover, to and from parents and guardians; and the President will exercise his right to examine all letters, as, in his judgment, it may be necessary.

No student of low and vicious habits will be retained in this College.

Students coming from other Colleges must bring satisfactory testimonials of character.

Visits to home are allowed at Christmas for ten days, and about the middle of May for two days.

APPENDIX

It is impossible to make children realize the importance of prompt and exact obedience, when their parents permit them to disobey. It is disobedience to us now; it will be disobedience to them later. When a mother permits her son to overstay one day she thinks to

win his affection by her indulgence, but she is laying a foundation to endless trouble in the future.

Parents have a right to withdraw their children at any time; they have no right to interfere with established discipline of the College; they have not the right to keep us and our punctual students waiting for the laggards who want one more day of idleness. If we do not begin work the very day appointed for the resuming of classes, it is because so many parents permit their children to remain one or two days over the time.

These passages manifest the organizing hand of a strong man, conscious of the purpose of his work in the education of Catholic children. Father McQuaid never became guilty, even in the humble beginnings of his College, of advertising for the education of Protestant children. Yet the College developed so rapidly, also in the time of the Civil War, that he had to advise parents, in the Catalogue of 1862-3, to "make an early application, as many applicants are refused admission at the opening session in August." In fact, there was no falling off in the attendance, but a steady increase even when the tuition was raised, according to the Catalogue of 1863-4, to $300, and, two years later, to $500. This was achieved without any special effort at publicity. Although "institutions need to keep themselves before the public, old Seton Hall was the exception," remarked Bishop McQuaid in his old age. "It neither advertised, nor asked any one to come, or to stay. I was fearfully independent, but I kept my two eyes open, and worked as I never worked since. For five or six years before I left, we had to refuse from fifteen to thirty applicants every Sept. Of course, we culled the best."[18] The large patronage was due mainly to the fact that Father McQuaid was ever at hand personally to show the advantages of his College "when distinguished literary people drop in. In Seton Hall I never trusted this branch of the work to any one, no matter how busy I happened to be."[19] Success continually spurred on Father McQuaid to greater efforts in perfecting the work so well begun. This is especially apparent in one of his letters to Bishop Bayley who was then in Europe.

Seton Hall, June 26, 1862.

Rt. Rev. & Dear Bishop,

Your welcome letter came promptly. I have waited until after our commencement to answer it. On Tuesday we had a regular

Nor'-East rain storm. It brightened up somewhat on Wednesday, but did not rain till Graduate (Frith) began his speech, and then it came. No way dismayed, the young hero stuck to his text, and with indomitable pluck spoke to the end with great success. His coolness and perseverance were much admired; his parents were delighted. As a certain Rev. Gent. would say, "All passed off with great credit to all concerned." Father Moran presided and distributed the premiums, and I did the talking. We had, in spite of the threatening appearance of the weather, a very large attendance. There were between 40 and 50 priests, and many very respectable lay people. Fortunately, I had been guilty of the purchase of a new and large tent, which gave sufficient shelter to enable us to go on to the end. All seemed quite pleased. Your absence was duly noticed.

I have as many boys engaged at the present time as will fill up our number in September. I can only receive new applicants in place of those that are going to leave, and there will be but few of them. Mr. Iasigi of Boston, a particular friend of Bp. Fitzpatrick, has engaged three places for his sons, a friend of his has taken another. I shall have the whole 75, and be under the *disagreeable* necessity of refusing some.

I do not expect that Father De Concilio will remain here another year. He and Father Senez & Cauvin have been trying to get Father Moran to appoint him to Fort Lee. A happy diplomatic arrangement on their part! The old Gentleman sticks to his instructions, and can't perceive the philosophy of the desired change. However, Father De C. has got the kink in his head that his health is suffering, and it will not be possible to retain him; nor is it advisable to do so against his will. Try, therefore, to pick up some suitable person, if you possibly can. Brann will be of little assistance in the Seminary; we shall need him in the College. I am much afraid that I shall have to act as Prefect myself next year. I cannot ask Mr. Thebaud to be prefect another year, and there is not a single one to whom I could entrust the government of a dozen boys . . . . .

I do not expect to be able to leave at all during the vacation. I expect to build the Seminary Church, and this will keep me here nearly all the time. The great majority of the Priests answered my appeal for help very cordially, promising to do all in their power to aid the good work. Still difficulties arose where I scarcely looked for them, and they somewhat embarrass me. Father Callan of Paterson was one of the first to welcome me to his Parish in September. I shall build the Church this Summer and Autumn, and without contracting any debts of any moment.[20]

When the College opened in the Fall, there was such a large attendance that the need of more room became pressing.

All that was needed for this was money. Father McQuaid, therefore, wrote his Bishop in September:

> Could you not find in your journeying $20,000 or a little more, with which to build the other wing of the College? I might have obtained a hundred scholars this year, if I had the room for them. I have now 70 in the house and places engaged for 10 more. Five have been refused. Father Howel brought young Ryan from Elizabeth, saying that you promised to take him here. I shall expect you to send him to St. Charles. It is better that such boys should go there for a couple years to try their vocations. We are getting on very well at the College. Dr. Brann is doing very well in the Seminary. He has so much to do there that he can be of little assistance to me in the College. I have taken two Seminarians on trial, and subject to your approval. One will not succeed; the other may. The conduct of all in the Seminary is very satisfactory. The want of a Church or large Chapel is very great and embarrassing. I did not build the Church as I proposed. The reasons for not doing so will be given when you return. It was not the fault of the Priests, as only two declined assisting, and a very few, and they of no consequence, paid no attention to my letter.[21]

At first, the Oratory in the Marble House, the Seminary Building, was large enough to accommodate the students and the twenty-five Catholics of the neighborhood that came there on Sundays to mass.[22] When the number of students and of the Catholic population of South Orange increased considerably, a large church became necessary. Bishop Bayley, therefore, sent out a Circular to the Clergy, May 5, 1863, "advising collection towards the erection of the College Chapel." Sixteen days later, he blessed the Corner Stone, and Father McQuaid made the speech.[23] Even today, the Chapel then erected is one of the finest building on the grounds of Seton Hall. The Catalogue of that year duly notes that, "in addition to the buildings represented in the wood cut, in the summer of 1863, a beautiful Gothic church, 100 ft. long, and a large stone house, containing, besides the rooms of the Sisters and female servants, the wardrobe and infirmaries, were erected."[24] The Sisters of Charity had taken charge of the domestic arrangements of the College and Seminary in 1862.[25] The Catalogue of 1863-4 had also to report a disaster: "Owing to the burning of the Gymnasium and the apparatus belonging to it, there has been no instruction in gymnastics during the past five months."[26]

COLLEGE SEMINARY CHAPEL

Side View of Chapel

SETON HALL, SOUTH ORANGE, N. J.

Father McQuaid was not content to rest now. He wished to have a more permanent foundation, and so remarked that "the liberality of Protestants in endowing their Colleges with Professorships and prizes should stimulate Catholics to rival this praiseworthy example. So far no Professorship has been endowed and no prizes founded in any of our Catholic Colleges." For the present he urged only the second: "To make permanent the distribution of Gold Medals etc., for success in the chief branches of study and for good conduct the friends of Seton Hall, whose means permit them, are respectfully requested to establish prizes to be awarded on Commencement Day. The prize thus founded will be known by the name of the founder."[27] Father McQuaid was highly pleased with the response given to this invitation, as he states in the Seton Hall Catalogue of 1865-6:

> During the past year, a friend of the College has founded two prizes to encourage the study of the German language. At present, he is unwilling that his name should be known. Robert Hamilton, Esq., of Sacramento, Cal., and S. J. Ahearn, Esq., of Elizabeth, N. J., have jointly founded the Gold Medal for good conduct. This Medal will be known as the Hamilton-Ahearn gold medal for good conduct. It is exceedingly gratifying to receive these marks of kindness from our friends. We are greatly encouraged thereby to proceed in our good work of establishing Seton Hall College on a firm and lasting basis.[28]

At this critical moment, when Father McQuaid doubtless was intent upon launching a drive for the foundation of professorships in the College, another fire of much more disastrous character threatened to destroy his work. His own account in the Seton Hall Catalogue gives the best insight into his invincible tenacity of purpose and unfailing resourcefulness in adversity.

> During the night of the 27th of January, 1866, fire broke out in the third story of the marble building of SETON HALL COLLEGE. For a time, all efforts were turned towards saving the building. The fire spread rapidly and soon extended to the roof, when it became evident that no means in our power could extinguish it. Our attention was then directed to the removal of the furniture, books, etc. The active and untiring exertions of the Professors and Students saved the most of what was moveable, and confined the fire to the house, in which it originated.

In four hours' time, a heap of smoking ruins was all that remained of the once beautiful College building.

Fortunately our other buildings were so extensive that we were enabled to resume studies in a short time.

In a few days, the following circular was issued:

TO THE PATRONS AND FRIENDS OF SETON HALL COLLEGE

The ruins of the burnt building are being removed. Arrangements for rebuilding the new College are going on.

I would be the most faint-hearted of men, if I were to hesitate one moment in going on with my work. The general cry is, "Give us something larger, grander, more suitable for College purposes." It is my intention, with God's blessing and your kind help, to do so.

A little plain talk with regard to my financial means will not be out of place.

The new building will cost $50,000. My insurances amount to $19,000; there are $4,000 worth of materials on hand; Bishop Bayley will order a general collection in all the churches of the Diocese which will amount to $10,000. The balance I must find elsewhere. I can look only to those parents who appreciate the work SETON HALL is doing for their children; to the personal friends of Bishop Bayley, who will deeply sympathize with him in the heavy and unexpected burden that has been placed upon him by this calamity; and to those friends that I may have found in my labors in behalf of education, and who have felt kindly towards me for all I have tried to do for the welfare of their children.

I, therefore, look anxiously and earnestly for the assistance that the well-wishers of SETON HALL may be able to render in this trying moment. Whatever they may be able to give or obtain from their friends, be it much, be it little, will be most thankfully received.

I need not add that all our benefactors will be earnestly remembered in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.

Seton Hall, Feb. 2, 1866. B. J. McQUAID.[29]

The circular sent out by Bishop Bayley for the collection towards rebuilding the College brought $9,755.[30] Father McQuaid evidently took a personal part in the work of raising the sum. For Bishop Bayley recorded, April 21, 1866, that "Father McQuaid . . . preached at St. Mary's (Jersey City) in the Morng. in reference to the Collection for the New College."[31] Some help was also given by patrons outside of the Newark Diocese. Father McQuaid himself reported the good work done in the next Catalogue:

On the 18th of April, an Amateur Concert was given in Delmonico's, Fifth Avenue, New York . . . . . Of the success of this concert in every respect, it is not necessary to speak in this place.

We can never be sufficiently grateful to the ladies, Mrs. F. A. Bruguiere and Mrs. J. J. Barril, to whose kind thought and untiring exertions the Concert is due. They labored with zeal and judgment; and aided by the good will of their hosts of friends gave a concert that surpassed and charmed every one present. We thank most heartily the ladies and gentlemen whose brilliant talents were so cheerfully placed at the service of the lady managers in aid of Seton Hall. Shortly after the concert, Mrs. Bruguiere and Mrs. Barril placed each in the hands of the President of the College a check for one thousand dollars, thus returning two thousand dollars as the proceeds of the Concert.

Father McQuaid also knew that "there are yet many friends of the college who have promised to come to our assistance in the course of the summer." So much assured help justified a greater expenditure of money. Father McQuaid, therefore, informed the public: "The new building in course of erection will be larger and more costly than was at first contemplated, but the offers of the assistance already tendered, in addition to what is mentioned above, lead us to hope that we shall not be burdened with debt, on the completion of the work, beyond our power to carry."[32] The Catalogue of the very next Academic Year announced: "Since last Commencement Day, the work upon the new Building has been carried on steadily until it has almost approached completion. The little that remains unfinished can await a replenished treasury."[33] Enlarged accommodations brought an enlarged attendance. May 24, 1867, Father McQuaid wrote his Bishop who was then in Europe: "The College is very prosperous, having 123 at the present time. All is moving along very nicely. The grounds have been put in order, and the appearance of everything around is satisfactory."[34] He had the best of hopes for the prospects of the following year, according to his letter, July 12, 1867: "We had a bad day for our College Commencement and were obliged to hold the exercises in the corridors of the new building. It passed off satisfactorily. We shall open in Sept. with a full school."[35]

It is evident that the College claimed most of Father McQuaid's attention at that time. The Seminary was then a puny institution, having its maximum attendance, during his administration, of sixteen students in the scholastic year of 1866-7.[36] A noteworthy celebration was held in the Newark Cathedral, March 17, 1880, which gives evidence that Father

McQuaid also carefully fostered vocations for the Seminary. Bishop Corrigan described the event in the Diocesan Register.

> St. Patrick's Day was celebrated with the usual solemnities, but a special feature of the feast was that the officers of the Mass, and the Clergy in the Sanctuary were all children of the Parish. Fifteen priests thus far have come from the Cathedral. All were present except F. George Corrigan, who is absent for his health, and F. Gessner, who came after dinner. The names of those ordained from the parish are the following: Revs. M. Gessner, M. E. Kane, M. J. Holland, J. Hill, James J. Brennan, Wm. H. Dornin, Wm. M. A. Callan, Joseph M. Flynn, John P. Callahan, Lawr. C. Carroll, Dan'l F. McCarthy, J. H. Corrigan, G. W. and M. A. Corrigan. The Vicar General also belongs by adoption, having been received into the Church and baptized by Bp. Bayley in this house. It was a beautiful celebration. The Sermon was preached by V. Rev. Wm. Byrne, V. G. of Boston. The Bishop of Rochester, who had much to do in fostering these vocations to the Priesthood, also assisted at the function, being on a short visit to Newark.[37]

One of these priests, Father Gessner, had been a hatter, and was working at his trade, when his great piety attracted the attention of Father McQuaid, who made his real vocation known to him, and was ever after revered by him as his real father in religion. Thus, Father McQuaid was ever on the alert to obtain recruits for the Holy Priesthood, of whom there were, in fact, too few in those early days. Even as Pastor of Madison, he found such a one in Father Cody, later Pastor of St. James's Church, Newark, to whom he gave first lessons in Latin.[38]

The character possessed by such a man could not fail to impress those who came into contact with him. Thus, Father W. McCloskey, later Bishop of Louisville, Kentucky, wrote of the President of Seton Hall to Dr. Corrigan, the future Bishop of Newark and Archbishop of New York, who was then in charge of the Seminary department, attached to the College:

> From what I saw on my late visit & from the little conversation I had with him, I must say that I have the highest appreciation of his energy and zeal. He is doing a greater work than I think even he is now conscious of, but the full fruit is to be reaped hereafter. Be not discouraged then at the hard work that comes up before you & in shapes that you did not anticipate.
>
> With such a man one must not stand on trifles. So co-operate with him warmly, generously, & enter into his every wish for the

MICHAEL AUGUSTINE CORRIGAN, D. D.
AT SETON HALL

temporal prosperity of the College while you do all in your power to advance the spiritual or rather ecclesiastical interest.

Bear in mind his many good qualities and forget your own trials for his zeal, which, if it sometimes run over & flood his neighbour's fields, is always well meant.[39]

Chapter XIV

SISTERS OF CHARITY

The creation of Seton Hall College was not the most important foundation made within the Diocese of Newark during Father McQuaid's activity there. A much greater and more necessary work was the formation of a Diocesan Community of the Sisters of Charity to take charge of parochial schools, orphanages, etc. These Sisters were first brought to New Jersey by Father McQuaid. He himself publicly declared the fact: "When the Providence of God removed me to Newark, my first thought was to get these Sisters; so I went to Mount St. Vincent on Oct. 18, 1853, and asked for two Sisters, the first to come to New Jersey."[1] They came to take charge of the orphanage, established in the rear of St. Patrick's Church, where Father Senez had installed some good women of the parish as matrons of the little ones. Although they did the best they could, Father McQuaid was not satisfied with the conditions he found there. When Bishop Bayley was informed of the actual state of affairs in the asylum, he approved Father McQuaid's project of putting the institution under the charge of the Sisters of Charity from Mount St. Vincent in New York.[2] The Sisters also took charge of the girls' school attached to the parish. A little later another orphanage in Paterson and a parish school in Jersey City were put in their care. Sisters were also required for other projected works of the Diocese, but one of these was pronounced not in accordance with the spirit of the rule, and the other, the caring for poor girls in danger of losing the faith through the machinations of proselytisers, not feasible at a time of great financial depression, although Bishop Bayley offered to guarantee all pecuniary liabilities.[3] These difficulties led to the decision to found a Diocesan Community of Sisters, under Diocesan control, to assume charge of institutions required for the best interests of religion. Father McQuaid considered this a necessity, as he later revealed in writing to

a friend: "My whole soul was wrapped up in the future success of the diocese of Newark, and the strongest conviction I had was that there never could be success without a sisterhood for the diocese, and independent of all outside superiors."[4]

Thus, the Diocese of Newark came to the same conclusion in this matter as had been reached before by Archbishop Hughes in the Diocese of New York. However, in Newark, there were not, as there had been in New York, old established convents upon which to base the new foundation. The Sisters of Charity of Mount St. Vincent had no Sisters to spare from their own community. The same was also true of the Sisters of St. Joseph in the Diocese of Philadelphia. The Bishop of Montreal was quite willing to furnish Sisters for Newark, but the Mother House and Novitiate would have to remain in Montreal.[5] Nevertheless, a way was finally found out of the difficulty. Bishop Bayley found a willing ear in the Reverend Mother Margaret C. George, the Superioress of the Sisters of Charity in Cincinnati, Ohio. She had been an early companion of Mother Elizabeth Bayley Seton, the foundress of the American Daughters of Charity, and was naturally interested in the project of the nephew of her saintly friend. "I know that you will do all that you can for us," he wrote to her, July 14, 1858. "If you cannot spare two or three to remain with us, or if they be unwilling to separate themselves permanently from their Western home, *you can lend them* to us and when they have trained up a few good Sisters to take their places, then they can return back to you again. My heart is set upon this matter."[6] The Bishop now felt that he had every hope of success in his efforts "to organize a mother house for sisters who will devote themselves in a special manner to teach poor children."[7] Towards the end of the month, he "had a meeting of the Council & Clergy. The Clergy promised to raise $10,000 towards the new Convent, Father McQuaid offering to obtain half of the sum—$5,000."[8] However, there were still some discouragements, as is apparent from Bishop Bayley's letter to Mother Margaret, August 23, 1858:

> Your kind letter of the 4th. inst., gave me great pleasure. On the same day, my second letter to you left Newark, I received one from Archbishop Purcell, which caused me to abandon all hope of getting "my own Sisters" for the Diocese. Yours, however, of the 4th., has encouraged me to try again.

It seems to me that the plan you suggest, if approved by the Archbishop and the Council might be carried out, viz.—for me to send three or four good subjects who might be trained under your good auspices and come back next Spring,—when you could probably lend us one or two good Sisters for a year, at any rate, to enable us to get fairly under way.

Please bring the matter before the Council, and let me know as soon as convenient, if the project can be carried out. Remember it is not merely the founding of a New House, but a New Diocesan Community. Our people are taking a great interest in the matter, and are contributing generously to enable us to secure a House.

Please present my most respectful and affectionate regards to your good Archbishop, when you speak to him in regard to the matter, and say that I am confident that he will do all that may be in his power to aid me in my undertaking. It seems to me proper that I should have aid of Mother Seton's children in establishing our holy Religion in this New Diocese.[9]

It must have been a joyful event for Bishop Bayley when he was able to write in the *Register of Newark Diocese*, November 29, 1858: "The Rev. Father McQuaid started this morning with five young women for Cincinnati, where they are to enter the Novitiate of the Sisters of Charity, then to return to us next summer with some of the Sisters to commence our New House of Sisters of Charity of St. Elizabeth. Their names are: Miss Margaret O'Neill of Paterson, Margaret Lynch, Bridget Daly, Mary Ann Duffy, Margaret Plunkett of Newark. I purchased Col. Ward's old Mansion last week to serve as a Mother House."[10] In his old age, Bishop McQuaid antedated the event by a year. "The next jubilee I have to celebrate," he wrote to a friend, "comes in 1907. Sister Joseph and I will have it all by ourselves, for it was in Nov. 1857, that I took her and the four others out to Cincinnati to begin their novitiate. In my mind, this was the beginning of your community." Then he added: "We are the only survivors of that party. If she can tell the exact date we started, then on that day I will say mass for her, and she will offer communion for me. This will be our celebration."[11] When the day came which he thought the golden Jubilee, Bishop McQuaid "offered up the promised Mass for her and her deceased associates."[12] These good women responded well to the training they received in the religious life in Cincinnati,

THE OLD WARD MANSION, NEWARK, N. J.
First Mother House of the Sisters of Charity of St. Elizabeth

ST. ELIZABETH'S, CONVENT, N. J.
(Old Seton Hall—adjoining Academy built in 1862)
Second Mother House of the Sisters of Charity of St. Elizabeth.

as a letter from Father McQuaid to Mother Margaret attests. The letter is dated February 10, 1859:

> We are much pleased to hear that our children are doing so well and give you so much satisfaction. We formed good hopes of them and are happy to know that we are not to be disappointed. Under your care and instructions, having ready and willing hearts, they cannot but advance in religion and the spirit of Mother Seton's rule.
>
> What the Bishop wants them to be is good Sisters, as she founded the Institution and the works of it. The Bishop is satisfied with your plan of giving them the brown habit now and the black one previous to their return to Newark.
>
> We are busy getting the New Convent ready. It is to be called St. Elizabeth, after Mother Seton's Patroness. The location could not be better. The Bishop purchased lots at the junction of Warren and Bank Strs. for the establishment of a new Parish under the invocation of St. Joseph. The school-house will be built first, and it will be among the first works of the new Sisters to teach School therein.
>
> He also purchased, on the corner of High and Kinney Sts., a large and beautiful lot for the new Cathedral to be built some years from now. So you will see, we are not dead, not asleep. It may interest the Newark candidates to know where the new purchases are situated as they are acquainted with the City.[13]

As the summer drew near, it was time to push the preparations for the reception of the Sisters in the new Convent. June 20, 1859, Father McQuaid announced to Mother Margaret that "the most of the work about the house for the Sisters is completed. A week or two will do all that we intend to do until the Sisters themselves come and say how they wish some things arranged. The house is very spacious, containing some ten rooms, besides extensive and commodious cellars." Father McQuaid planned to start for Cincinnati towards the end of June and hoped "to return with the Soul of our Convent Building."[14] However, by the middle of the month he notified Mother Margaret of further details in regard to his trip:

> The time for the return of our Sisters will soon be at hand. I had hoped that it would be in my power on my going to the West this Summer to spend some days in that section of the country. But it has been found necessary to place me again at the head of our College, and the new duties of this charge will leave me but little time to spare. I would rather go myself after the Sisters than to have another sent. I can do it by going direct to Cincinnati and returning the following morning without delay. So that if you can let me know the day the Sisters will be ready to start, I can

arrange it so as to arrive in Cincinnati the day before. It is my loss that I must be in such a hurry, but I cannot help it.

Our Bishop is exceedingly pleased to learn that our Sisters have given satisfaction and trusts that under good direction they will make the foundation of a Community worthy of Mother Seton.

He feels somewhat anxious about the head that will be sent with them, as so much depends upon the solid piety, prudence, and judgment of their first Superior. It is almost like the founding of a new religious order. He still has unbounded confidence in the wisdom of your selection and feels happy that, under the blessing of God and the prayers of good friends in Heaven and on earth, all will be for the best.[15]

Mother Margaret herself now became freed from the burden of the office of Superioress of the Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati. The third election of officers, since the separation of this community from Emmitsburgh, took place in July of that year. The Sisters wished Mother Margaret to retain the office, but she insisted that the constitutional limit of six years in succession should not be violated, as a blessing would follow strict observance of the rule in all its detail. Sister Josephine Harvey was, therefore, elected Mother.[16] Archbishop Purcell then appointed Mother Margaret and Sister Anthony to return with the novices to New Jersey. Sister M. Josepha, one of the Jersey band, helped Mother Margaret out of the carriage on her return from the Archbishop, and was the first to hear the news. The announcement of the appointment occasioned a great uproar. Sisters, novices, students, etc., opposed her departure. God's will was made manifest by the sudden and serious sickness of Mother Margaret, who was anointed and prepared for death. The plans were changed, and the Superiors at Cincinnati wrote Bishop Bayley that they had no one to take charge of the new community in Newark.[17] The Bishop immediately had Father McQuaid postpone his departure for Cincinnati, as he notified Mother Margaret, August 2, 1859, adding that "the change that has been made so seriously affects his plans that he finds it necessary to take more time to decide upon the future. In the meantime, he prefers that his novices should remain under your care for a short while longer. As soon as he comes to a determination in the matter, I will notify you of the day when I will reach your place."[18]

MOTHER MARY XAVIER MEHEGAN

Bishop Bayley now called upon Archbishop Hughes to use his powerful influence with the Sisters of Mount St. Vincent in order to obtain from them what the Cincinnati Community at last found not in their power to give. Sister M. Jerome of St. Vincent Hospital, New York City, explained to the Mother there the change of attitude on the part of the New York Sisters of Charity towards Bishop Bayley's foundation in Newark, October 13, 1859: "As you had been so generous, we had to do something, and have consented to give him two Sisters, but all the merit must be yours for the foundation of this new house, as I do not think our people would have consented, only that those good girls were with you and are ready to commence."[19] It was only September 23, 1859, that Bishop Bayley "received official information of the appointment of Sister M. Xavier, now of Newark Asylum, as Superior of our new Community, and Sister Catherine of Paterson as her assistant. Both appointments are highly satisfactory to him and encourage him in the hope that his undertakings will be, with God's blessing, successful."[20] Meanwhile, the New Jersey novices were kept in Cincinnati, "the Superior of Mt. St. Vincent much preferring that their novices should not be brought on until they were ready to receive them."[21] As soon as these preparations were finished, Father McQuaid communicated Bishop Bayley's directions to Mother Margaret, September 23, 1859:

> He wishes you to send on our Novices next Thursday, September 29. By leaving in the morning train, they will reach Jersey City by the N. Y. & Erie R. R. Friday evening where I will meet them. I am sorry I cannot go to Cincinnati to accompany them all the way home, but my duties at the Cathedral and the College make that an impossibility. The Sisters will find no difficulty in coming alone.
>
> Please find enclosed the Bishop's check to defray their expenses back. He will be happy to send whatever may be due on their account whenever you let him know what it is.
>
> In the strange result of all the Bp's endeavors to establish this Community, we cannot but feel how much of the success is owing to your kindness and readiness to aid the attempt when almost every one else frowned upon it.
>
> We are all very grateful to you and shall always bear in kindest remembrance all that you did and still more offered to do in our behalf.[22]

Thus, the Community was at last successfully launched, Bishop Bayley noted the fact in the Newark Diocesan Register, October 11, 1859: "The postulants who were at Cincinnati have returned, and this week they have fully begun. We have given it the name of St. Elizabeth's Community of the Sisters of Charity, & opened a select school." The Convent naturally looked to Father McQuaid, the zealous Pastor of the Cathedral, for guidance and direction, especially as Mother Xavier and Father McQuaid were the spiritual children of the same saintly Mother in religion, Mother Elizabeth Boyle. Late in life he wrote of his work for these Sisters of Charity: "I was fully conscious of my inability to train up a religious community. There was only one course to follow, and that was to do the best I could and leave the rest to God. Under His care, blessings and prosperity came to the brave Sisters. My instructions came from a full soul, based on the little experience I had acquired in the Seminary and my early years in the priesthood. Certainly, that beginning in the old Col. Ward property was small and humble, and it needed warm words of encouragement to keep up the courage of the young aspirants."[23] God's blessing was upon the new foundation; even the first year of its existence witnessed a great increase in the membership of the community. The expenses incurred in the undertaking were, however, heavy, and so Bishop Bayley was obliged to make an appeal for funds to the Propagation of the Faith, at Lyons, France, August 1860:

> The mother-house of the sisters, established for the education of the young and other works of charity, contains now twenty-six novices. The house which I bought for them is too small and inconvenient, so that I have given them the property which belonged to the Diocesan College. It is large, convenient, healthy and it will answer all their wants. The Sisters are animated with an excellent spirit, and we have every reason to expect from them the greater benefits for religion, above all, for the salvation of our poor children. Up to the present day, they have been supported almost entirely by me, and hence I ask the association to help me as much as possible. Within a year, they will be able to receive some help from the other churches, where they will form little communities and will take care of themselves.[24]

The New York Sisters of Newark and Paterson returned to Mt. St. Vincent as soon as the New Jersey Community was able to replace them. The Sisters who were at Jersey City

on the same terms did not leave according to agreement. November 27, 1905, Bishop McQuaid wrote: "After forty odd years of holding possession, they are at last to make their bow. Of course, the Sisters of Jersey will take charge of Jersey City, although to do so at the present moment means great inconvenience to them."[25] Almost each successive year after their foundation saw new schools placed in charge of the Sisters of Charity of St. Elizabeth. The steady growth of the Community marked the steady progress of Catholicity in the Diocese of Newark, where also other sisterhoods were admitted to associate their labors with those of the original community, in the interest of Catholic education and charity. Even though the resources of the infant community were taxed to the utmost to satisfy the ordinary pressing needs of the Diocese, the Sisters of St. Elizabeth were not found wanting in the fulfilment of patriotic duty, when every nerve of the country was strained to preserve the Union in the bloody Civil War. With some pride, Father McQuaid wrote to his Bishop, who was then absent in Europe, September 22, 1862: "The Sisters are succeeding in the Military Hospital in Newark. The Chief surgeon said to me that they were invaluable to him, and that he could not get along without them."[26]

At the same time, healthy activity was maintained at the Mother House near Madison, where the Sisters, after their arrival, had opened in the Fall of the year a boarding school for young ladies. The attendance at this school necessitated in 1862 the erection of a new academy, a five story brick structure. The education given by the Sisters kept pace with the material development of their buildings. Father McQuaid himself had proof of this, as he wrote Bishop Bayley, September 22, 1862: "I have never been so much pleased as with the progress made by my niece during the past year."[27] Five years later Father McQuaid again gave expression to his satisfaction with the results attained by the Sisters in their work. July 12, 1867, he wrote his Bishop: "The exhibition at Madison was a wonderful success; it astonished and pleased every one. The Sisters are improving the grounds around the buildings with fine effect. They have a station on their grounds where the trains stop four or five times a day. It is called the Convent Station."[28] Meanwhile, the Sisters had also opened a boarding school for young boys on the same premises, but removed

from the Academy for girls. Father McQuaid was closely identified with this wonderful development. Although Pastor of the Cathedral, Administrator of the Diocese and Vicar General for a time, in addition to his arduous duties as President of Seton Hall College and Professor of Rhetoric there, he often found time to make a neighborly visit at the Madison establishment to promote the interests of the institution and its members to the best of his ability, until duty called him to another and a distant field of labor. Towards the end of his life, writing of himself and Mother Xavier, "young and inexperienced," he openly confessed:

> It never entered the head of either of us to think that what God hath brought forth could ever come to pass through two such unlikely instruments. Certainly, I had no such dream of what was before me. My dreams and prayers were that one day I might have a clean college and a decent seminary. But it so often happens that a man builds better than he dreams. It all comes to this: one must do his best when he is working for God, and He will do the rest.[29]

Chapter XV

CURE OF SOULS

Neither Seton Hall nor the new Sisterhood of St. Elizabeth absorbed all Father McQuaid's energy and zeal. He was also active as Pastor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Newark. The *Catholic Almanac* of 1859 gives some insight into the organization of the parish. The parochial school had on its register 280 boys and 300 girls, while the Sunday Schools show an attendance of 1200. The *Living Rosary* was divided into 95 bands with a total membership of 1421. The Children's Society of the Blessed Sacrament had 700 members.[1] As early as June, 1854, Father McQuaid had organized the Young Men's Catholic Association of Newark, New Jersey. Two years later a Joint Stock Company was formed, and the erection of the buildings commenced. A later description of its organization gives some idea of its work even during the time when Father McQuaid was its president.

> The object of the Association is to afford its members opportunities of improvement, as well as of innocent recreation, and to disseminate Catholic and useful knowledge.
>
> The Association consists of Honorary, Life and Associate members.
>
> Any Catholic over fifteen years of age can become a member.
>
> To carry out the object of the Association, it has established the Newark Catholic Institute, consisting of a Library, Reading Room, a Gymnasium, a Hall for lectures, &c., a Recreation Room, supplied with Billiard Tables, Chess, &c., a Meeting Room, Bath Rooms, &c.
>
> The building is open daily, from 8 o'clock A. M. until 10 P. M.; on Sunday from 2 P. M. until 6.
>
> Books can be had from the Library at any time.
>
> The Reading Room is supplied with the prominent daily and weekly papers, magazines, books, pamphlets, &c.
>
> Classes in Gymnastics meet on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, at 8 o'clock P. M.
>
> The Literary Society meets every Friday evening, free to all members. Membership dues, to adults $5.00 per year; to minors $4.00, payable monthly, quarterly, or yearly, in advance. Initiation

fee $1.00. From minors no initiation fee is required except when they cease to be members and then wish to rejoin.

The gymnasium is open to the public. Terms with instruction per year $8.00, 6 months $5.00, 3 months $3.00 payable in advance.[2]

Thus, the Catholic Institute, 61-63 New Street and 14 Essex Street, accomplished important social work for Catholic Young Men, whose welfare is too often neglected in Catholic circles. Father McQuaid also felt it to be his duty to provide better facilities for fulfilling their religious duties to Catholics in outlying districts of the parish. In 1859, he bought the land for St. Joseph's Church, and erected upon it a combination church and school for the Catholics in the "Hill" section of Newark.[3] This place was attended from the Cathedral for nine years, when it became a separate parish in 1863. Father McQuaid also purchased six lots in Harrison, corner Jersey and Third Streets, where also a two story combination church and school was built for the convenience of the people in what was known as West Hudson, between the Passaic and Hackensack Rivers.[4]

While Father McQuaid was thus alive to the spiritual interests of his flock, he also gave proof of zealous devotion to patriotic duty, which he urged by word and example, as well as he was able, when the Civil War threatened the integrity of the United States. April 22, 1861, Bishop Bayley made an interesting entry on his Diocesan Register: "Today we hoisted the American Flag on the Cathedral, it being the day of a Union Meeting. Father McQuaid made a speech in front of the Court House. Nothing can exceed the enthusiasm of the people in rushing to the defence of the Capitol, a sad necessity apparently."[5] The next day the *Newark Evening Journal* gave an account of the Union Meeting, giving considerable space to the report of Father McQuaid's part in it.

His appearance was the signal for an enthusiastic outburst of applause, which was kept up for several minutes. He said he felt honored and happy in the opportunity to address this vast body of American people. Today they worshipped at a common shrine, the altar of our country; assembled under a common symbol, the "Stars and Stripes", the flag of our land, that had battled successfully by land and sea. We hold a common creed—obedience to the laws and Constitution of the land. Some of you might, in the past, have supposed that, because we stood aloof, we were not good American

citizens; that our hopes were not where our bodies are. But when danger threatened our country, we had ever been found standing side by side with the defenders of the country; you may call us traitors,—you may proscribe us,—that moment has come and we are true. It was not his place to be here, but he felt his duty obliged him to come—a strong conviction of duty as an American citizen. His religion commanded him to give to his country all that he had; it commanded him to stand faithful to this great and independent government. He knew of no other country like this on the face of God's earth. We had lived and prospered under its constitution, and hoped we all might go on prospering, and be true to ourselves, to the laws, and to the Government. If we hesitate now and permit the powers of mischief to prevail, anarchy will ensue; then comes a military despotism, and the American people will never submit to such an iron heel. There were others here whose place it was to tell them about the causes of the present difficulties, but the speaker declared emphatically that this glorious Union would be sustained against any enemy, whether in our land or from a foreign country.

Father McQuaid was too necessary a man for the Diocese to be spared for the war. According to Bishop Bayley's entry, May 11, 1861, "Gov. Olden has appointed the Rev. Geo. H. Doane Chaplain to the New Jersey Contingent, on my nomination."[6] He remained with the army until February, 1863, when the Bishop duly noted that "Father Doane returned on Tuesday the 17th much better than I expected to see him."[7] Meanwhile, Father McQuaid remained busy at his post in the discharge of his many duties, an attentive observer of the course of events, and fully confident of the successful issue of the war, even when the danger of European intervention seemed imminent. This firm faith in the triumph of the good cause of his country found strong expression in the letter he addressed to Bishop Bayley, then in Europe, June 26, 1862: "The feeling of the American people against Europe for its constant threatening to meddle in our affairs, is growing deeper and more bitter. If England & France, or all Europe combined, should attempt to interfere, the world will witness a sight such as never beheld before. The last news from England looks as though they were meditating something of the kind."[8] Towards the end of the war, Father McQuaid apparently had reason to believe that proper care was not given to the spiritual welfare of the brave soldiers who were sacrificing their lives for the country in the closing struggle of the bloody

conflict. At once, he determined to investigate the matter personally and to supply what was lacking, if it was in his power to do so. On his arrival at Washington, May 18, 1864, he wrote an account of his interview with the Very Reverend Benedict Coskery, Administrator of the Archdiocese of Baltimore, etc., and sent it at once to Bishop Bayley.

> I saw Rev. Mr. Coskery in Baltimore this morning. He was very kind and expressed great pleasure at my having come. He seemed to know of only one priest at Fredericksburg. Of the standing of this one, he did not appear altogether satisfied, and commissioned me to give or withhold faculties, as I might find necessary.
>
> It must be a mistake that he is the only one there, for it would be a scandal of the worst kind that, knowing for so many days past that thousands were lying there severely wounded, not a Priest of the many in Washington and Georgetown has gone out to perform a work of charity that might be called a work of justice.
>
> I write from Mr. Farrell's office. Mr. Farrell will go with me to obtain a pass, etc., and I will get to Fredericksburg as soon as possible . . . . Mr. Farrell says that Sigel has been gobbled up, that guerillas infest the country in the rear of Grant; that things look very bad; that I may have to pay a rather prolonged visit to Jeff's dominions, etc.
>
> My trip here was very pleasant, save the company in the cars,—a mixture of rowdy soldiers, niggers, Jews, and Sanitary Commission Yankees. I will be home by *Corpus Christi*. Any communication, addressed care of John Farrell, Commercial Building, Washington, will be forwarded to me.[9]

When Father McQuaid arrived at Fredericksburg, he did not find a single priest there, as he informed Bishop Bayley in a letter written at that place, May 21, 1864:

> After not a little trouble I arrived here last evening. I am the only Priest in the place. Some have passed through going with regiments to the front. The city is literally a hospital; the soldiers have been dying in numbers without a Priest. There are five Corps Hospitals, each consisting of any number of separate hospitals. I visited last night a few of 2nd Corps, and attended to some of the worst cases: a Col., a Lt., and a dozen soldiers. Every Church, every large house is used for hospital purposes. When I entered the City, my prospects for the night were no better than some porch or vacant doorway. In the first hospital which I entered, which was the Catholic Church, I met a surgeon, an old friend, who found comfortable quarters for me in an Irish. Cath. family. I had for companion a Methodist minister, but a real clever fellow from the

North of Ireland, an anti-abolitionist, and very conservative, and quite a gentleman.

I will not leave here until a Priest relieves me. I will write today to Father Coskery. Send some one if you can. Father Killeen would suit . . . Father Daly would. Once here, a man must be a good worker, not inclined to mind trifles.

Last evening 2 or 3 hundred wounded were brought in. The night before Lee sent a full corps to fall, in the night time, upon the supply train. The attack was partially successful, although Grant drove them off, taking three or four hundred prisoners. All kinds of reinforcements are being sent forward, but I do not think that Grant will ever get to Richmond. The Methodist minister, who was with the army the day before, says the same.

When you send a Priest, tell him to call on John Farrell, Louisiana Avenue, between 9th & 10th Strs. Mr. Farrell will assist him in procuring a pass, etc. Mr. Kernan, M. C., may also be addressed with confidence to obtain his aid, should it be necessary.

The Priest will come from Washington to Belle Plain by Steamboat, a pleasant trip. From Belle Plain to this place, he must keep his eyes open and trust to the Chapter of accidents. Should there be any empty ambulances returning, he may get a ride; otherwise shank's mare will have to be called into requisition. I had walked about a mile when I met a Captain whom I know. He dismounted his orderly and I had a ride of over ten miles on horseback—the first time I mounted a horse in fourteen years. And such a road! We made a short cut once that took us down a hill, that I would not like to go down a second time. I would almost as willingly face the bullets.

I do not see that I shall be able to say mass while here. If the Priest that you send could bring Father Doane's traveling arrangement for saying mass, it would not be amiss.

Should you want me to return before the arrival of a Priest at this place, you must telegraph to Mr. O'Farrell, Washington. Here a letter directed to Surgeon O'Meagher will reach me.

I shall have a budget of news on my return.[10]

Grant did finally work his way into Richmond, but it took another year to do it. The war was then soon terminated, and the Union maintained intact. Late in life Bishop McQuaid loved to tell his ecclesiastical students of his short trip to the relief of dying Catholic soldiers, and his eyes twinkled merrily whenever he related how he made a convert through whisky. A wounded Protestant soldier, through a long, weary, sleepless night, watched intently how the Catholic priest ministered small doses of the liquor to a fellow-soldier in a critical condition from his wounds. Later he told Father McQuaid if it

was his Faith that taught him thus to care for his neighbor, he also wished to be a Catholic. Father McQuaid's services near the front were well remembered by Dr. Kilroy, Stratford, Ontario, Canada, in a letter written as late as March 30, 1903: "Thirty-nine years ago in May, he came to my tent at Acquia Creek on the Potomac just after the battle of the Wilderness, and assisted nobly in taking care of the wounded."[11] He remained on duty there till a priest could be sent from New Jersey to take his place, when he returned home. On his way back, he had to spend the night on the deck of a vessel, covered by the blanket of a poor soldier who had died of a deadly fever.

In spite of his manifold activities, the death of the Vicar General, Father Patrick Moran, brought a still greater burden of work to Father McQuaid. In September, 1866, Bishop Bayley noted in the *Diocesan Register:* "I have appointed the Revd. Bernard J. McQuaid, President of Seton Hall College, Vicar General of the Diocese."[12] The new office did not free him from the presidency of Seton Hall College nor of the rectorate of the Cathedral. He was, however, already somewhat familiar with the work, as Father McQuaid had been called upon, before this date, to discharge commissions that would naturally have devolved upon the Vicar General. Thus November 16, 1858, Bishop Bayley wrote: "Gave an *Exeat* to Rev. John Hannigan of Gloucester City and appointed Rev. James Daly to his mission . . . The friends of Mr. Hannigan, who are displeased at the change, barred the church last Sunday & would not allow Father Daly to say mass. Sent Father McQuaid to arrange the matter."[13] Here he had to bring the laymen to their senses. Another time, apparently a couple of years earlier, Father McQuaid felt it to be his duty to call to order a priest, who had become guilty of outrageous conduct towards his Bishop.

> As your messenger said that he was to wait for an answer to your note to the Bishop, in his absence, I opened it to see if I could give the desired answer. The Bishop is from home, but will return in the course of the day.
>
> I will take the liberty, however, of going beyond stating this fact, which under ordinary circumstances I would have confined myself

to, and will say a word with regard to the tone and spirit of your note.

In the first place, it is such a note as you would not dare to write any other bishop in the country. Presuming on the patience of Bp. Bayley to bear with your impudence, you write in a manner that reflects no credit on you, either as a priest or as a gentleman. It has not even the ordinary forms of common civilty. It is just such a note as a petti-fogging lawyer would write to some scamp of a fellow to scare him into paying up a long-standing debt.

It is full of contemptible insinuations and sneers, of which you will be heartily ashamed when you enter into yourself and reflect upon your obligations as a Priest and a Christian. Until such time as your passion passes away, and your mind returns to its usual composure and ability to judge with calmness of what is before it, I would advise you to submit your letters to some discreet friend who might save you from the sin and indiscretion of your present letter to Bp. Bayley.

I would also say to you that, as relates to your donation to the church at Hudson City, there are two opinions, and that the most reliable one is that you have no right to the return of your gift and that if you receive it, you will owe it solely to the generosity of Bp. Bayley.[14]

The Bishop was, indeed, too gentle to master some of the ruder elements among the clergy and people of the Diocese. Under the strain, his health gave way, with the result that his eye-sight was grievously affected. At least, Father McQuaid believed that Bishop Bayley's breakdown was not merely physical, as he wrote to the latter, May 28, 1867: "I am inclined to think that what you needed was rest from trouble more than anything else. You permit the vexations of the Diocese to weigh too much on your mind."[15] A trip to the Holy Land and to Italy failed to improve his eye-sight, and so Father McQuaid suggested another expedient: "If you find that rest is likely to do good to your sight, why come home! Father George says that he can manage your financial business, and I shall have no difficulty in Diocesan affairs. There is an entire lull at present, nor am I in dread of much trouble. They have found that I am not to be trifled with."[16] In fact, he had already done some effective house-cleaning that avarice, intemperance, and some minor evils in a few of the Diocesan clergy had made very necessary. He would have liked to have been able to sift some more chaff from the wheat, as he wrote Bishop Bayley: "If you could manage to send me

two or three good priests, I would rid you of some trouble that you will be sure to have one of these days. There are some of your Priests that would be much better in heaven than on this sinful earth. Still, make sure of what you bring, as importations and ex-religious are very uncertain investments."[17]

Although our Lord prophesied that scandals were bound to come in His Church, Father McQuaid was bound that they would not continue any longer than he could help it. The Vicar General, in his short administration, became a terror to delinquents. He suspended one Pastor for avarice, but then relented somewhat, allowing him an assistant's place upon the restoration of certain funds to the Church and upon promise of further restitution, subject to the Bishop's future judgment of the matter. He suspended a second Pastor "ostensibly for an impudent letter", in reply to a demand for a financial statement, but in reality "for drunkenness, the use of coarse billingsgate towards the people in the Church, and misappropriation of Church monies." Their fate was a warning to others, and produced immediate results. "The effect of the overhauling of some of these gentlemen's accounts is already perceptible, as I have had explanations and statements from others who began to dread that their turn might come next."[18] Father McQuaid was glad to get a priest from another Diocese to replace a third Pastor, to whom he gave an *Exeat* before the return of Bishop Bayley, "as Father C. is disposed to make trouble, demanding an examination, to know his accusers, etc. I escape annoyance by saying it is "causa judicata", with which I have nothing to do but to execute the order left me."[19] He threatened, besides, to suspend a fourth Pastor who did not spare open threats against the Administrator because of the question of a German church in Camden. As his passion cooled, Father McQuaid remarked to his Bishop: "Father ——— is very quiet, though very indignant at me. He talks of joining a religious order, but he intends to build a new church this summer."[20] A fifth priest "jumped the traces," and Father McQuaid did not care to help him back and let him go." After all this, some work of this kind still remained to be done, and Father McQuaid promised his Bishop that he would do it if possible: "There is one other Priest I

BERNARD J. McQUAID
Vicar General of Newark Diocese 1866-1868

will rid you of, if Providence send me some one to send in his place. Do not fear that I am doing these gentlemen the least injustice. The one I refer to is . . . a drunkard, has an ungovernable temper, and is doing more harm than good."[21]

The scarcity of priests to minister to a rapidly increasing Catholic population was largely responsible for the admission of such unworthy men to the exercise of the Catholic ministry. The sin of intemperance was especially unfortunate at a time when Bishop Bayley had found it necessary to issue a pastoral against the prevalence of this vice amongst some of his people. January 21, he addressed an earnest appeal to the clergy to eradicate the evil:

> Reverend Sir: I am compelled to call your attention, in a particular manner, to the dreadful sin of drunkenness.
>
> This horrible vice, so destructive alike to body and soul, is as we all know, making the most fearful ravages among our people. It may be said to be the chief cause of all the sins they commit, and of all the social evils and discomforts under which they labor. It brings strife and disunion and poverty into families; it renders parents unfit to discharge the duties which they owe to their children; it corrupts the young, and is the source of innumerable crimes. It is, in fact, as we are all made to feel by daily experience, the one great obstacle which stands in the way of our labors for their spiritual and temporal good.
>
> Nothwithstanding all the clergy have done, by exhortation and warning, to put a stop to this monster vice, it is, I regret to say, on the increase among us, and I feel that I would be neglecting my duty as a bishop if I did not take some strong measures, in concert with the reverend clergy, to check this moral pestilence.
>
> It is my wish, therefore, that, on the receipt of this letter, you would immediately bring this subject to the attention of your people by reading it to them, and that you would urge upon all the better portion of them, all who love their religion and deplore the scandal which this vice brings upon it, and who grieve on account of the souls that this sin destroys, to unite with you in laboring to arrest its progress.
>
> Your efforts, as you will readily perceive, are to be directed against two classes of persons—the drunkards themselves and those who, knowing them to be such, supply them with drink.
>
> While I am willing to leave to each pastor the choice of the particular means which he thinks most likely to effect the object we have in view, I would direct your attention especially to those who keep disorderly drinking houses and who sell liquor late on Saturday nights and on Sunday; I would suggest the advantage of obtaining

> a list of all the drunken men and women and of those who keep such houses in your district. In this way, you may be able to make an example of them and to excite against them the indignation of all good Catholics, as persons who bring disgrace upon their religion and who are to be shunned by everyone who has any regard for order, peace, and good citizenship. I am determined to make use of the most severe measures against all who are addicted to this scandalous and destructive vice; and if they continue in the practice of it, they must do it as outcasts from the Catholic Church, who have no right to the name of Catholic while they live nor to Christian burial when they die.[22]

Father McQuaid had not one standard for lay delinquents and another standard for clerical delinquents. If severe measures were warranted against abuses among the laity, at least equally severe measures were justifiable against abuses in a few of the clergy, especially as they were a discredit to the Diocesan priests at large who were bending every effort, in union with their Bishop, to crush out intemperance with its attendant evils amongst their people. As he governed those of the clergy that needed it with a strong hand, Father McQuaid had no hesitation in employing the same firmness towards those of the laity that showed themselves to be malcontents. Father D'Arcy, on his return to the Diocese, June 23, 1867, was installed as Pastor in Morristown. Later Father McQuaid heard "that Father D'Arcy, finding the squabbles at Morristown so great, feels faint-hearted and wants to give up the place; but I insist upon his remaining there until your return; by that time everything will be settled and he will not want to leave . . If they continue their row, I will go to Morristown for a Sunday and give them a piece of my mind."[23]

Father McQuaid sent his Bishop accounts of all his doings as Administrator of the Diocese, remarking: "I have gossipped away because you might like to hear all the Diocesan news for old association's sake." However, he was careful to warn Bishop Bayley not to become disquieted over these matters. He assured him: "You must not suppose that there is any trouble in the Diocese. I am always sure to be right, and when I put my hand on a poor fellow, I take a firm hold until he yields. Some of them may not have much love for me, and, no doubt, will never vote for me as Bishop, but they keep quiet and mind me."[24] He also believed that his administration would bear fruit later. He, therefore, informed his

Bishop: "Many will rejoice at your return, and I devoutly hope that they will be able to appreciate a gentle, kind hearted, and unsuspecting Bishop, when they again come under his immediate management." There can be little wonder that the government of the Diocese, under these circumstances, in addition to his other work, allowed Father McQuaid no leisure, as he wrote Bishop Bayley: "I have not been away from the Diocese, nor am I likely to absent myself until your return, as I find that administering to a Diocese and to a College is work enough for a man's whole time and attention."[25]

The following year, Father McQuaid was appointed Bishop of the newly created Diocese of Rochester, New York. On the eve of his departure from New Jersey, the Bishop-elect was presented with an address by the Reverend William McNulty of Paterson in the name of the Clergy of the Diocese of Newark. It contained a fine appreciation of the life of Father McQuaid. These are Father McNulty's words:

> When your brethren, the clergy, learned that you had been selected from among them for the Episcopal dignity, they united in a testimonial expressive of their full concurrence in the choice. They are honored that in their ranks has been found one possessing the qualities that merit such distinction, and by this act they bear witness to your invariable high character, your unswerving fidelity to every duty, and your untarnished priestly career.
>
> The Diocese, whose infant growth you have fostered, and for whose prosperity you so unweariedly labored, while exulting in your elevation, parts from you with regret. The Bishop loses a faithful and efficient auxiliary, the clergy an estimable associate, the people a tried and true friend, ever watchful over their well being. The confidence, which entrusted to your care the most important interests of religion and education has never been betrayed; for under your supervision there arose and now flourish institutions of which an older diocese might be proud. A noble college for the complete training of Catholic youth has, by your hopefulness and perseverance, been placed upon a basis of future success; and the time-honored order of Sisters of Charity, under your wise direction, has become a fountain of incalculable good in leading youthful souls to God. In the midst of these many cares, with this weight of responsibility bearing you down, we have seen you ever prompt and cheerful to relieve your brethren in the pulpit, at the altar, and in the confessional. Gratitude calls for this acknowledgment and ennobles it, and frees it from the suspicion of idle panegyric.
>
> On the eve of your departure, as we look back to the years during which we have been associated in the sacred ministry, there spring

up no unpleasant reminiscences. We cannot recall a moment when your actions were not marked by the courtesy of a perfect Christian gentleman. We have drawn animation from the zeal and rare energy which you brought into every work undertaken in the name of Charity and Religion. We have known the entire disinterestedness and purity of your motives. We have been edified by the example of your earnest and irreproachable life; and, while, with one accord, we lament the loss to the Diocese of such a friend, we rejoice that the Hierarchy of the United States has gained a prelate, whose escutcheon is so bright. We congratulate the clergy and faithful people of Rochester on their first Bishop. He goes to them loaded with earnest prayer from parish, and convent cell, and college hall, that Heaven will bless his pastoral charge and make his labors fruitful in good. They need not to be told that nowhere more than in the case of a missionary Bishop, it is true that dignity means labor and ceaseless anxiety. Their generous co-operation with you in every good work will tend to smooth the otherwise *"Via Dolorosa"* of the Episcopate.

Your brother priests were unwilling that you should take leave of the Diocese to which you have so long been an ornament, and which contained so many monuments of your usefulness, without hearing its expression of their esteem, and they have found the occasion in the presentation of these insignia of the pastoral office, which they now offer for your acceptance. It is the voice of their sympathy with you in the desolation which must arise at thus severing the pleasing associations of so many years; it is the echo of the public acknowledgment of your worth and virtues. Go forward and do manfully the work to which God has appointed you. You take with you the good will of all your brethren, who, with feelings of mingled pride and sadness, have come here to bid you God speed and farewell.[26]

FATHER McQUAID
IN
DIOCESE
OF
NEWARK,
NEW JERSEY.
Places of Residence
Places Visited
Scale of Miles
Port Jervis
Milford
Dingmans Ferry
Layton
Beemerville
Sussex
Bevans
Normanock
Wallpack Center
Colesville
Quarryville
Hainesville
Branchville
Papakating
Augusta
Monroe
Franklin Furnace
Bashkill
Flatbrookville
Swartswood
Baleville
Halsey
La Fayette
Wintermute
Warbasse
Millbrook
Middleville
Newton
Houses
Sparta
Stillwater
Stroudsburg
Delaware Water Gap
Blairstown
Marksboro
Greendell
Huntsville
Andover
Dunnfield
Hainesburg
Johnsonburg
Tranquility
Columbia
Portland
Hope
Delaware
Stanhope
Lake Hopatcong
Mt. Arlington
Mt. Pope
Netcong
Port Morris
Landing
Wharton
Dover
Bangor
Vienna
Great Meadows
Budd Lake
Ledgewood
Kenvil
Mine Hill
Succasunna
Townsbury
Bridgeville
Hackettstown
Mt. Olive
Flanders
Belvidere
Buttzville
Beattestown
Bartley
Ironia
Oxford
Schooleys Mtn.
Naughright
Chester
Port Murry
Stephensburg
Rockburg
Long Valley (German Valley)
Brookside
Meadham
Ralston
Middle Valley
Brainards
Washington
Port Colden
Harmony
Broadway
Changewater
New Village
New Hampton
Hampton
Califon
Fairmount
Pottersville
Peapack
Gladstone
Bernardsville
Asbury
Glen Gardner
Cokesbury
Mountainville
Bedminster
Far Hills
Phillipsburg
Stewartsville
W. Portal
High Bridge
Oldwick
Alpha
Springtown
Bloomsbury
Carpentersville
Clinton
Juliand
Armandale
Lebanon
Pattenburg
Finesville
Little York
Hunden
Whitehouse
Whitehouse Sta.
North Branch
Riegelsville
HUNTERDON
SOMERSET
Milling
Liberty Corner
Stirling
Gillette
Basking Ridge
Lyons
Murray Hill
Berkley Heights
Union
Springfield
Baltusrol
Summit
Millburn
Vauxhall
Maplewood
Short Hills
S. Orange
E. Orange
Orange
Madison
Convent
Morristown
Morris Plains
Whippany
Hanover
Florham Park
Livingston
Roseland
Pleasantdale
Essex Fells
Caldwell
Verona
Pine Brook
Greystone Park
Cedargrove
Little Falls
Great Notch
Athenia
Passaic
Montclair
Nutley
Glen Ridge
Bloomfield
Belleville
Arlington
Kearny
Harrison
Newark
Irvington
Jersey City
Hoboken
Bayonne
Upper New York Bay
Long Island Sd.
Elizabeth
Linden
Roselle
Cranford
Scotch Plains
Westfield
Garwood
Fanwood
Watchung
Picton
Plainfield
Warrenville
Dunellen
Ash Brook
Grasselli
Rahway
Marine & Richmond Harbor
St. George
Ft. Hamilton
Brooklyn
Raritan Bay
Sandy Hook Bay
Colonia
S. Plainfield
Martinsville
Tuxedo Park
Sterling Forest
Lake Wawayanda
Vernon
Glenwood
New Milford
Greenwood Lake
Warwick
Greycourt
Monroe
Harriman
Pine Island
West Point
Peekskill
Haverstraw
Suffern
Ramsey
Mahwah
Upper Macopin
Oakland
Allendale
Saddle River
Ridgewood
Bergen
Paterson
Wayne
Pompton Lakes
Pompton Plains
Butler
Boonton
Montville
Mountain Lakes
Lincoln Park
Mountainview
Pequannock
Hawthorne
Wortendyke
Riverdale
Pompton
Midvale
Wanaque
Oak Ridge
Echo Lake
Charlotteburg
Stockholm
Lake Owassa
Awosting
Hewitt
Ringwood Manor
West Milford
Kampe
Lakeside
Moe
Tarrytown
Nyack
Spring Valley
Nanuet
Pearl River
Orangeburg
Park Ridge
Woodcliff Lake
Hillsdale
Englewood
Tenafly
Hackensack
Lodi
Garfield
Carlstadt
Rutherford
Lyndhurst
Passaic
Clifton
Little Ferry
Carlton Hill
Wallington
Secaucus
N. Bergen
Edgewater
Fairview
Cliffside
Hudson Hts.
Guttenberg
Weehawken
Long Island
Sound
Rockland
New York
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Monmouth
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Warren
Delaware R.
Hudson R.
Raritan R.
Passaic R.
Lackawanna
Lehigh
Erie
Susquehanna
Jersey Central
Central R.R. of N.J.
Delaware, Lack. & Western
Erie
New York, Ontario & Western
Lehigh & Hudson River
Lehigh Valley
Pennsylvania
Delaware & Hudson
Ontario & Western
Susquehanna & Western
Northern
Greenwood Lake
Tuxedo Park
Sterling Forest
Lake Wawayanda
Lake Mohawk
Lake Owassa
Lake Hopatcong
Budd Lake
Swartswood
Wallpack Center
Culvers Lake
Stillwater
Delaware Water Gap
Columbia
Portland
Belvidere
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Washington
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New York, Ontario & Western
Lehigh & Hudson River
Lehigh Valley
Pennsylvania
Delaware & Hudson
Ontario & Western
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23. Bp. McQuaid to Mother Xavier, Feb. 20, 1907. St. Elizabeth's College Letters, as in No. 4.
24. Flynn, The Cath. Ch. in N. J. p. 284.
25. Bp. McQuaid, Sermon in Hist. of Cath. Ch. in Paterson, N. J. by C. A. Shriner, p. 83. Same to Sr. P—, St. Elizabeth's College Letters, as in No. 4.
26. Same to Bp. Bayley: Letters to Archbp. Bayley. File No. 42. Baltimore Cathedral Archives.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Bp. McQuaid to Sr. P—, Feb. 21, 1907. St. Elizabeth's College Letters, as in No. 4.

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1. Catholic Almanac, 1859, pp. 85, 88.
2. West End Journal, Rochester, Feb. 1871.
3. Flynn, The Cath. Ch. in N. J. p. 398.
4. Ibid. p. 373.
5. Bp. Bayley, Newark Diocese Register, p. 92. Seton Hall, S. Orange, N. J.
6. Ibid. p. 93.
7. Ibid. p. 105.
8. Letters to Archbp. Bayley. File No. 42: L to Z: Baltimore Cathedral Archives.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid.
11. Dr. Kilroy to Mrs. Tracey, Rochester.
12. Bp. Bayley, Newark Dioc. Register, p. 154.
13. Ibid. p. 66.
14. B. J. McQuaid to Rev. Mr. —, Newark, Monday Morning (Year not given): N. Y. Archdiocesan Archives, Dunwoodie. Batch of Bp. Bayley's Letters. (Hudson City Ch. erected Oct. 1856.)
15. B. J. McQuaid to Bp. Bayley, May 28, 1867. Letters &c. as in No. 8.
16. Same to same, July 12, 1867. Ibid.
17. Same to same, May 24, 1867. Ibid.
18. Ibid. Cf. also July 12, 1867. Ibid.
19. Same to same, July 12, 1867. Ibid.
20. Same to same, May 24, 27, June 3, 1867. Ibid.
21. Same to same, July 12, 1867. Ibid.
22. Flynn, The Cath. Ch. in N. J. p. 283 sq.
23. B. J. McQuaid to Bp. Bayley, July 12, 1867. Letters as in No. 8.
24. Same to same, May 27, 1867. Ibid.
25. Same to same, May 24, 1867. Ibid.
26. Newark Journal, Apr. 10, 1868: in Rochester Union and Adv. Apr. 16, 1868.

By FREDERICK J. ZWIERLEIN, D. Sc. M. H.

Professor of Church History
at St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, N. Y.

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